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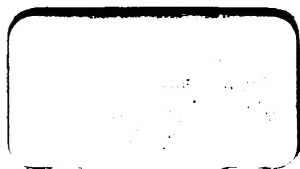


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LECTURES
ON
GREEK PROSE COMPOSITION
With Exercises

Arthur
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PREFACE

My object in writing these Lectures has been to give the student of Greek Prose Composition (when he has passed the earlier stages) a kind of assistance which he often needs, and which Rules, however carefully framed, will not give him. He may get a good deal from hints, and from reading, and from practice; but there will still be many questions arising, when he comes to do a new piece, which neither hints, reading, nor practice will enable him at once to answer.

It seemed to me possible, that if he were, by the aid of such Lectures as the following, to witness the actual process of composition,—to see a typical collection of passages handled in detail, so to speak, before his eyes,—it might to some extent meet this requirement. Having mastered the Accidence, and the ordinary Syntax, and reached a fair proficiency in the knowledge of idiomatic usage, he would be helped toward the further stages by seeing the various difficulties pointed out and solved; by watching the process of selection and rejection of words and expressions and turns of idiom; by witnessing the application—always the real difficulty—of the rules and principles

which he has learnt; and instead of merely doing the piece himself, and then reading the version of it by another hand, he would have the reasons put out before him in black and white, at every point, why each sentence and clause was turned in such a way, and not in such another.

In such a treatment there is sure to be a certain amount of repetition, which will perhaps be for some students superfluous; but, in the first place, it is often inevitable, as cases are constantly occurring where old principles have to be applied in a slightly new way, which without the re-statement the student might miss; and in the next place, even where the point is the same as before, repetition may be necessary for the thorough mastery of it. I venture to hope that for the average, whose interests I have had in view all along, the repetitions in these Lectures will not be found excessive.

I have also naturally kept in mind the obvious distinctions between the three principal Attic prose styles,—Narrative, Rhetorical, and Philosophical. The passages in the first ten Lectures are accordingly historical; the next six are from speeches; and the remaining four are such as might be set to be done into the style of Plato.

The notes on Structure and Idiom which are prefixed to the Lectures are intended mainly as a kind of *catalogue raisonné* of the points chiefly treated in the course of the Lectures themselves.

I hope they will serve the double purpose of an index

to the Lectures, enabling the student to find at once what points are discussed in the Lectures, and where the discussion is to be found, and also as a collection of similar instances, so that he may gain additional mastery over any point he is considering by the helpful method of comparison.

Of the fifty Exercises which, in deference to the opinion of experienced friends, I have added to the end of the Lectures, 1 to 28 are Narrative, 29 to 39 are Oratorical, and the remainder are intended to be turned into Platonic Greek. I ought to add that one of the Lectures (No. 3) deals with a passage from Messrs. Sargent and Dallin's excellent work, *Materials and Models*, and that I have the kind permission of my friend Mr. J. Y. Sargent to use it here.

I have only to add that I shall be very grateful to any one who uses the book if he will send me any correction or suggestion.

OXFORD, 1886.

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NOTES ON STRUCTURE AND IDIOM.

THE points illustrated in these Lectures may be broadly divided into two classes, which it will be better to treat separately :—

A. Main points of structure, which turn chiefly on the vividness, simplicity, and plain directness of the Greek (particularly in narrative style, though the same principles prevail widely in all Greek prose), compared with the various artificiality of the English idiom ;

B. Minor points of idiom, comprising such differences as will emerge when any two languages are compared, especially when the comparison is between an ancient and a modern language; and also various detailed usages, which make a great deal of difference to the idiomatic *taste* of the Greek rendering, but which it is difficult to refer to any larger principles.

A. Main Points of Structure.

§ 1. The first and most fundamental point is the tendency in English to the *abstract* where in Greek the clause (in a variety of ways, see my *Greek Prose Composition*, §§ 106, 113) is more *concrete*.

- | | |
|---|--|
| i. 2. published the occasion
of his disobedience | διήγγειλε διὰ τί οὐκ ἐπίθετο |
| i. 5. civil war was approach-
ing | ἐστασίαζον, ὅτ' ἐς πόλεμον ὄσον
οὕτω κατέστησαν |

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| iii. 2. delay might cause loss of the prize | ἦν μέλλωσι, φοβερὸν εἶναι μὴ, etc. |
| iii. 4. with destruction awaiting | μέλλοντα ἀπολέσθαι |
| iv. 3. violence would be an affront | χαλεπῶς ἂν φέροιεν εἰ βιάσαιντο |
| iv. 4. services put in requisition | χρηθῆναι |
| v. 2. yielded to his urgency | προθυμονμένῳ ἐπίθετο |
| ix. 3. never disappointed of their aims | ἀεὶ ὧν ἐφίεντο τυχεῖν |
| x. 4. a project had been on foot | παρεσκεύαζον |
| xii. 5. in my conscience | κατ' ἑμυόν |
| xiii. 1. present convulsions | στασιάζουσιν |

§ 2. Further examples, where the *personalising* tendency of Greek is shown.

- | | |
|--|--|
| i. 3. both stories are probably true | εἰκὸς ἀληθῆ λέγειν ἀμφοτέρους |
| ii. 2. his moderation was displayed . . . | ἐπιεικὴς ᾤετο φανεῖσθαι . . . |
| iv. 3. the time for open war was not yet | οὐπω ἔτοιμοι ὄντες ἐς φανερόν πόλεμον καταστήναι |
| v. 5. the provisions were no longer binding | ὥστε μηκέτι ὑπόσπονδοι εἶναι |
| vii. 1. the effect of all this providence was not such as was to be expected | οὐ κατ' ἐλπίδα ἀπέβη, καίπερ εὐλαβούμενοις |
| ix. 7. it must end in submission to a harder yoke | ὑποχειρίους γενομένους δεινότερα πείσασθαι |

- xi. 5. what is required in a candidate . . . ἀρχοντα αἰρουμένους δεῖ ζητεῖν . . .
- xiii. 1. their account resolves itself into . . . τοῦτο τῷ ὄντι λέγουσιν . . .
- xiv. 3. magnanimity is the truest wisdom πλείστ' ἂν σωφρονοίη τις μεγαλόψυχος ὢν
[See the fourteenth lecture all through for this point.]
- xv. 1. there is an apparent tranquillity φαίνονται ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν

3. English is also often obscurer than Greek because of the *allusiveness* of style : expressions are used which are intelligible enough with the context, but in themselves vague or ambiguous. The Greek idiom requires a simpler and more direct style.

- i. 4. Murray's offer was evidence against himself δῆλος ἦν ἐπιβουλεύων ἐπὶ τοιαῦτα ὑπέσχετο
[what offer? evidence of what? The Greek will go nearer than the English to answering these questions.]
- i. 6. to extricate herself from the consequences [*i.e.* danger] τοῦ κινδύνου περιγενησομένη
- v. 4. sent in her demand [for the town to be restored] ἡξίου παραλαβεῖν
- vii. 5. orders came to him [evidently to help] ἀγγέλων ἡκόντων ὥς βοηθεῖν δεῖ
- xv. 2. feeling deep interest in his fate [= pity] οἰκτεῖροντες οἶα πάσχει οὐ τοιαῦτα πάσχοντα
- xv. 4. attached to the union περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος ἐκείνους μήποτε αὐτονόμους γενέσθαι
- i. 6. what will be their feelings? [= anger] πῶς οἴσθε ἀγανακτεῖν

§ 4. A special form of this is the ambiguity caused by *euphemisms* in English. Greek also has its euphemisms, especially in Platonic Greek: but naturally there is no exact correspondence between the idioms, and the euphemisms of each language should be noted separately.

- | | |
|--|--|
| x. 1. all was not right | δόλου τινὸς παρασκευαζομένου
ὁ ἐπιβουλεύειν, μηχανᾶσθαι
τι, etc. |
| ix. 1. results of the engagement | τῇ ἡσση |
| xvi. 3. administration no longer tenable | οὐκέτι ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι, etc. |

§ 5. Very often the English, without being really vague, substitutes for variety some *circuitous* expression for the actual thing meant: or *implies* what the Greek will *explicitly state*.

iv. 2. [The whole section should be referred to.]

- | | |
|--|---|
| iv. 1. her misadventure at the time of the Scotch marriage | τὰ περὶ τὸν γάμον οὐ κατῴρθωσεν |
| vi. 8. to go on winning | τὰ ἔτι πορρωτέρω καταδραμεῖν |
| viii. 2. he expected obedience and received a message | τοὺς δὲ οὐχ ὅτι πιθέσθαι ὥσπερ ἡξίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντεπεῖν τι τολμήσαι |
| x. 5. the truth was further established by a coincidence | τοιοῦνδε τι ἐγένετο ὥστε καὶ μᾶλλον πιστεύειν |
| xi. 6. [in buying slaves] we object to one however honest | ... οὐδὲ τὸν δικαιοτάτον ἀνδρα πρᾶϊμεθα |

§ 6. Another difference of idiom is due to the greater tendency in English narrative to *picturesqueness* of expression. The Greek will again be direct and simple.

- | | |
|--|---|
| iii. 5. were hoarse with indignation | ἔσχετλίαζον καὶ δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο |
| ib. rallied to the banner | προσεχώρησαν |
| iv. 6. loaded with irons | ἔδησαν |
| vi. 6. awakened by the general | use παραμυθεῖσθαι or θαρσύνω |
| xv. 3. when the door of a jail has closed on him | ἐπειδὴν ἀπαξ εἰρχθῇ |
| ib. that he lose his hold on their affections | ἡσσόν τι τιμήσιν |
| i. 1. as he was mounting his horse he was told | τῷ δὲ παρασκευαζομένῳ τὸν ἵππον ἡγγεῖλέ τις |
| xvi. 2. no reason but the frowns of his master | πλὴν εἰ δυσχεραίνων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπήλασεν |

§ 7. A special case of this is the English habit of conveying a fact by a picturesque *epithet*: in Greek the point must be told otherwise, never as part of the attribute.

- | | |
|---|--|
| ii. 1. the fatal dagger | Either omit it (the fact being plain from the context), or
ὃ διεφθάρη |
| iv. 4. the traitor Hyrlas | τῷ πρότερον μνηύσαντι (apposition) |
| vi. 7. the places consecrate to their cruel rites destroyed | τὰ ἱερὰ καθελόντες ἔπαυσαν μηκέτι τοιούτοις χρῆσθαι σφαγίοις |
| xv. 2. the fate of their persecuted tribune | [see the whole sentence, p. 105] |
| xv. 3. an agitator whom they adored | ὄντινα δημηγοροῦντα ἐτίμων |

§ 8. Another very special use of the same usage is what we may call the *ornate alias*: where the person is referred to by a descriptive or allusive title, to avoid repetition. In Greek, use either the name, or arrange so that a pronoun will do, or omit.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| ii. 1. the conqueror | [say simply 'Octavius' once for all] |
| ib. his enemy | may be omitted |
| ii. 3. the strange visitor | τὸν ἄνδρα |
| ii. 4. the imprisoned queen | ἡ βασίλεια |

[This usage is not a mark generally of the best style: and all the instances in these exercises are confined to this one piece of Merivale].

§ 9. The English picturesqueness sometimes takes the form of *metaphors*. The principle that should guide us in translating is fully expounded in my *Greek Prose Composition*, §§ 178-181; but we may say that nine times out of ten *simple fact* should be substituted in Greek for the metaphor.

- | | |
|--|--|
| i. 5. to foster strife | προθυμίσθαι |
| ib. . . . impossible to acquit her | δῆλος ἦν |
| iii. 4. seeing himself <i>en-trapped</i> | ἀμυχανῶν, or εἰδὼς ἐν οἷα ἀπορία κατέχεται |
| ib. the <i>birds</i> would be <i>flown</i> | οὐδένα καταλήψεσθαι |
| v. 6. the dispute was <i>hang-ing</i> | οὐδέν πω ξυνέβη |
| x. 5. took time by the <i>fore-lock</i> | φθάσας |
| xiv. 1. the <i>profane</i> herd | [see the whole section, p. 100.] |

1. to turn a wheel in the machine [of empire] οὐδὲ τὸ φανλότατον μέρος μεταχειρίσασθαι

§ 10. A subtle form of this is the *personifications* of inanimate things which are found in English. Without going so far as to say these are excluded in Greek, at any rate we may safely say they are much rarer: and it is best to avoid them.

- iii. 4. the ships, which alone offered means of escape αἱ νῆες . . . ἥ μόνον ἐτι ἐλπὶς σωθῆναι [not παρεῖχον]

Many other instances in sections 1-5.

§ 11. Occasionally the metaphor, especially (and mainly) in rhetoric, is important: and then it should be usually expanded into a *simile*.

- xii. 2. the light and sunshine of my house had been extinguished ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ὥσπερ φῶς μοι καὶ ἥλιος ἀπέσβη

- xiii. 1. we set ourselves to bite the hand that feeds us ὥσπερ φαῦλοι κύνες τοὺς τρέφον-
τας δάκνομεν

- xiii. 3. our dominions abroad are the root which feeds this rank luxuriance of sedition ἐκ τῆς ἐξωθεν ἀρχῆς ὥσπερ ἐκ φαύλης ῥίζης ἐς τοσούτον τέθηλεν ἡ στάσις

§ 12. English is, however, not only picturesque and metaphorical; it is also, as compared with Greek, *artificial* in many ways.

First, in *order* of narrative: before we turn a piece into

Greek, it is always useful to think out the story as it happened, and then, in translating, keep as nearly as possible to the actual order.

ii. 5. he detained her in conversation with a confederate at the door, while with one or two followers he climbed . . .

παρὰ τῇ θύρᾳ τινὰ προστάξας,
ἵνα διαλεγόμενος αὐτὴν ἐπί-
σχοι, αὐτὸς ὀλίγων ἐπομένων
ἀνέβη

iii. 1. these arguments, which had much logic in them, were strongly urged by Zapena, whose counsels were usually received with deference. But on this occasion . . .

τοιαῦτα φρονίμως καὶ μετὰ
σπουδῆς παρῆνει ὁ Ζ. οἱ δὲ
καίπερ ὑπακούειν αὐτῷ
εἰωθότες, τότε μέντοι . . .

v. 4. the eight years, after which, by the terms of the peace Calais was to be restored, had just expired. She had sent in her demand . . .

εἰρημένον δι' ὅκτ' ἔτων Νισαίαν
ἀποδοῦναι, ὥς ὁ χρόνος
ἐτελεύτησεν, ἡξίου παραλα-
βεῖν

vi. 1. emulating others of whose deeds he heard from abroad, he marches . . .

τοὺς ἄλλοι πυθόμενος οἶα
ἔδρασαν οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀξίων
λείπεσθαι, ἐστράτευσεν

x. 5. the truth was still further established by a coincidence. At the same time as the messengers were reporting, a man was arrested . . .

ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα ἐδήλουν τοιόνδε τι
ἐγένετο ὥστε καὶ μᾶλλον
πιστεύειν. ἀλοὺς γάρ τις . . .

§ 13. More commonly still the artificiality consists in obscuring the *real agent*. If we ask ourselves the simple questions 'What is really done?' and 'Who really does it?' there will often be no further clue required towards a simple and idiomatic translation.

- i. 6. she feared *she would have* . . . μὴ πράγματα παρέχουσιν
an insurrection on ἐκείνοι νεωτερίσαντες
hand
- ii. 5. *he detained* her while he προστάξας τινὰ ἵνα . . . ἐπίσχοι,
climbed . . . αὐτὸς ἀνέβη . . .
- vi. 5. uttering direful prayers, δεινὰ ἐπηρῶντο. ἐκπεπληγ-
they astonished the μένοι δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι . . .
Romans . . .
- vi. 7. *they were yoked* with φρουρίοις αὐτοὺς κατεῖχον
garrisons
- vi. 8. *his back lay* open to the ὁ δὲ τὰ ὀπισθεν ἐκινδύνενε τι
occasion of losing σφαλῆναι
- x. 1. *he had* traitors among προδιδόντες τινὲς τῶν οἰκετῶν
his servants, who ἡγγελλον
warned . . .
- x. 5. *he was met* and re- τῶν ξυνωμότην τις ἐπιτυχῶν
cognised by one of ἀνέγνω
the conspirators

§ 14. Or the *real act* may be obscured.

- ii. 4. [he was to take her ἵνα τῇ πομπῇ παρείη, ἐν ᾗ οὐδὲν
alive] that she might ἡμέλλε μᾶλλον θαυμά-
form the *most attrac-* ζεσθαι
tive spectacle. in his
triumph

§ 15. Another very common and important form of artificiality in English is the *concealed Oratio Obliqua*:

it is not, of course, really obscure, or it would not be used: it saves the tiresome insertion of 'he said,' 'she thought,' 'they felt,' etc., and gives a vivid and dramatic colour to the narrative: but it must be turned into an *explicit Obliqua* in Greek, or else the sense is lost. The speech or feeling must be given plainly as a speech or feeling.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| ii. 4. a threat of violence | ὁ δὲ ἀπειλαῖς μὲν οὐκ εἶχε |
| might drive the | χρησθαι, μὴ . . . |
| queen to . . . | |
| iii. 2. delay might cause loss | ἦν μέλλωσι, φοβερὸν εἶναι μὴ |
| of the prize | σφαλῶσι |
| iv. 3. they could scarcely | οὐκ ἤθελον διαρρήξαντες τὴν |
| break open the | οἰκίαν ξυλλαβεῖν . . . |
| house and seize . . . | |
| v. 3. she was now again | ῥσθετο αὐθις ἐς ταὐτὸ κατά- |
| confronted with a | στασα |
| similar difficulty | |

§ 16. Or, again, the artificiality may be due rather to the epigrammatic, ironical, humorous, colloquial, or other styles, adopted in order in some way to give *point* to the narrative. The rule in Greek is still to be plain and simple: *the tone requires to be lowered*: the more pointed expression to be *interpreted*.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| iv. 6. the stages of the farce | πάντα ἐς τὴν ἀπάτην παρα- |
| being arranged | σκενασάμενοι |
| v. 2. she had gone far | ὥστε λόγῳ γοῦν τι ὑποσχέσθαι |
| enough to commit | |
| herself | |
| v. 5. his orders were out | πρὶν ἀνάγεσθαι τὸν πρεσβεῦτην |
| of date before he had | ἃ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὴ μετέγνῃ |
| started. | |

7. failure had taught caution: caution would insure victory
 διὰ τὴν ἦσαν εὐλαβέστερον
 ἂν ἐπιχειρῆσαι ὥστε σαφέστατα δὴ νικήσειν
- xiii. 4. we have no other materials to work on
 οὐδὲν ἔχομεν ᾧ χρῆσόμεθα
- xv. 1. you have a verdict
 κατεκρίνατε
- xv. 2. till you begin to put the sentence into execution
 μέχρι οὗ καταγνόντες καὶ ἐς φυλακὴν ἀπάγειν πειράσθε
- xvi. 3. It is in vain to evade the question
 μηδὲ ἐρωτώμενος ἐς προφάσεις καταφύγης

§ 17. Where the English is merely *verbose*, in Greek it should be cut down.

- ix. 3. not despairing of finding a solution of their difficulties
 οὐπω ἐς ἀνέλπιτον ἀπορίαν καταστάντα
- ix. 5. to repudiate their rule
 ἀποστῆναι
- x. 5. he was taken, according to the usual mode of conveyance
 κατὰ τὸ εἰθὺς ἀπῆγετο
- xvi. 2. a moment so critical and important
 καιρὸς τοσούτος
- xiv. 5. by adverting to the dignity of this high calling [he has just been speaking of 'our situation,' 'our place,' 'our station,' 'the greatness of our trust']
 τοιαῦτα ἐνθυμούμενοι

[For example of how, in answering objections—the dialogue of oratory—terseness in Greek adds to the effect, see xi. 3.]

§ 18. Desire of *Clearness* in Greek also sometimes leads us even to *add* something which is omitted in the English.

In vi. 3 [*see the passage*] it is smoother to add the word ἀφικόμενος at the beginning. If you were writing the story in Greek, you would instinctively insert it at this point.

In vi. 5, and again xv. 2, where we have an indecisive state, a state of waiting, followed by a decisive act or result, the insertion of τέως helps to make it clearer.

vi. 5. stood in amaze . . . ἐκπεπληγμένοι τέως μὲν ἤσυχον, τέλος δέ . . .
at length awakened

xv. 2. the Irish will be quiet . . . feeling interest . . . but when the door of the jail has closed . . .
τέως μὲν οἰκτείροντες εὐλαβήσονται . . . ἐπειδὴν δέ . . .

In vii. 5, 'nor did these pursue in any time' will be clearer if we say, 'And at last when they did pursue they did not catch them.'

In viii. 2, 'the king said he was sorry for that occasion of coming to them' is clearer if we add the other half of the real antithesis: 'he was sorry to come, but he was *forced*': which is what the word 'occasion,' rather less clearly, conveys.

In x. 3. 'Henry would not act against so high a noble . . . but privately he sent . . .' is made clearer if we add 'publicly' (φανερῶς μὲν) to the first clause.

§ 19. A special case of this is the following. When the circumstances which lead up to an act (or a conclusion) have been detailed at length, it is common in Greek, and it adds to the clearness, to insert a *summarising* expression. The examples will show what the usage is.

iv. 2, 3, 4. [After expounding all the difficulties of the ephors, the English goes on, § 4.] In Greek it would be better to say—*ταῦτα οὖν ἐνθυμούμενοι διεννοοῦντο*, κ.τ.λ.

'The services of Hyrlas were therefore put in requisition' . . .

vi. 6. [The Romans were amazed: then the general encouraged them: told them not to fear barbarians: the English goes on] In Greek, *τότε δὴ ἀναθαρσύναντες*, κ.τ.λ.

'they fell on and beat them

xi. 1. they earned their triumphs because they had conducted themselves well in the offices to which they had been appointed. *ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὥς ἐπετρέποντο εὖ πράξαντες οὕτω δὴ ἐπόμπενσαν.*

§ 20. The Greek being a naturally vivacious language, we find a constant tendency, not only in speech and dialogue but also in ordinary narrative, to the use of *δή*, *ἀπὸ*, *οὕτως*, which may be called *dramatic particles*. It requires some little experience to know the right places where to insert these; and the student will begin by not

using them enough, and perhaps go on to use them too much; but he may be helped by noting the following cases (out of many) where they are naturally used.

(a) *Pretence, allegation, etc.*

- ii. 1. (he affected to weep) ὀδύρεσθαι δὴ προσποιεῖτο
iv. 7. (in this seeming extremity) ὁ δὲ ὡς ἔσχατα δῆθεν ἀμνηχανῶν

(b) *the suggested motive.*

- ii. 4. (did not threaten lest she should commit suicide) μὴ ἐαυτὴν δὴ βιάσαιτο

(c) *a burst of feeling.*

- iii. 5. (they had not left their brethren . . . for this . . .) οὐ τούτου δὴ ἔνεκα φάσκοντες . . . ἀπολιπεῖν

(d) *a parenthetic explanation.*

- vi. 2. (for they, it seems, had entertained fugitives) φύγαδας γὰρ δὴ ἐδέξαντο

(e) *a suspicion.*

- ix. 1. (perceiving the king was depressed . . . and suspecting he was quietly preparing . . .) γνοὺς ἀθυμοῦντα τὸν βασιλεα, καὶ ὑποπτεύων μὴ κρυφῇ ἄρα παρασκευάζεται . . .

(f) *a natural consequence.*

- ix. 1. (suspecting this, he reflected) ταῦτα ὑποπτεύων, ἐνεθυμεῖτο δὴ

(g) *misplaced mirth and disappointment.*

- (he ridiculed the messengers, and accordingly, when he did pursue, failed to catch the troops) καταγελῶν δὴ ὠλιγῶρει διώκων οὐκέτι δὴ κατέλαβεν

§ 21. Lastly, we may just mention what is perhaps the most obvious point of all, namely, the *continuous* character of Greek, compared with the *comminuted* or short unconnected sentences so common in modern English.

This is specially the case with narrative: and in the more extreme cases not even beginners would fail to notice the difference and make their Greek more connected than the English. It is the less obvious instances that are worth illustrating: where the sentences in English, though not too abrupt to be turned as they stand, yet are better bound up in Greek into one longer sentence, in order to bring out the logical connection.

- i. 1. She was not long in receiving intelligence . . . οὐ διὰ πολλοῦ πυθομένη . . .
 She sent to Murray . . . ἐπεμψεν.

For various instances, see ii. 2, ii. 3, iv. 1, v. 2, viii. 2, ix. 4, xi. 1, xii. 5, xvii. 5.

B. *Minor Points of Idiom.*

The minor points of idiom it would obviously be impossible to deal with or to classify exhaustively, as they would cover the whole field of the almost infinite detailed differences between a modern and an ancient language. Moreover, in my *Introduction to Greek Prose Composition*, I have attempted to treat systematically the more important of such differences.

But it may help reference to these lectures if the points that emerge in the course of them are here collected and arranged. In the arrangement it may save trouble to follow the order of the Grammar.

(a) Noun usages. §§ 22-25.

✓ § 22. The *nominative* is not unfrequently repeated at the end of the sentence distributively.

- iii. 1. Commanders and sol- *χρησθαι ἐπεθύμουν τῇ νίκῃ καὶ*
diers were hot for *στρατηγοὶ καὶ στρατιῶται*
following up the vic-
tory

§ 23. The *nominative* is idiomatically used after comparisons even where the main substantive is in another case.

- xvii. 1. (The dogs) at last like *τελευτώντας ἂν ὥσπερ οἱ ἄνθρωποι*
men would make a *καταχρωμένους*
bad use of [their
hands]

§ 24. English nouns and names often conveniently turned by pronouns or adverbial expressions.

- i. 6. her own subjects *οἱ ἐκεῖ, or οἱ ἐκεῖσε, or οἱ οἰκοθεν*
iii. 5. the archduke *ἐκεῖνος*

§ 25. When the nouns or names are such as are thoroughly unlike anything in Greek, we may sometimes find an expression that will give the *feeling* of the passage.

Thus 'infidels' (iii. 2) may be turned *βάρβαροι*, and 'Catholics' (x. 5) *οἱ πολέμιοι, οἱ πέραν, οἱ ἐκεῖ*, etc.

For 'guns' and 'pistols' (vii. 2) use *βέλος, τοξεύω*, etc.

For precise expressions of *time*, in Greek it is convenient often to be *vaguer*: thus

'on Tuesday,' may be *τῇ προτεραίᾳ, διὰ βραχέος, τότε, νωστί, πάλαι, ἤδη ποτέ*, etc., according to circumstances.

'at three o'clock,' *μετὰ μεσημβρίαν, περὶ δέιλην, ὀψέ*, etc.

'in January,' *χειμῶνος, πρὶν ἔαρ γενέσθαι*, etc.

(b) Adjective and Relative usages. §§ 26-29.

§ 26. Strong *adjectives* are often idiomatically done by demonstratives in Greek:

v. 2. a powerful party

τοσοῦτοις ἀνδράσιν

vi. 7. cruel rites

τοιούτοις σφαγίσις

Even repetition is conveniently avoided by τοιοῦτος

'an able man with an able son' ξυνετὸς ἀνὴρ τοιοῦτον ἔχων υἱόν

viii. 3. [he should maintain their *privileges* : . . .]
but traitors had no *privileges*

ἐπιβουλεύουσι δὲ οὐδέν ὑπάρχειν τοιοῦτον

§ 27. The Predicative position of adjectives may be used with effect:

ii. 1. to weep for a man so closely allied

δύρεσθαι . . . ὡς οἰκείου τε ἀποθανόντος ἀνδρός

xiv. 5. They have made the only honourable conquests by . . .

μόνην εὐδόκιμον νίκην ταύτην, . . .

§ 28. A constant tendency in Greek (for the sake of clearness or emphasis) is to put the *Relatives* first:

viii. 3. no man was more careful of their privileges

ὅσα μὲν γέρα ἔχουσιν, οὐδεὶς ἐπιμελέστερον φυλάσσει

viii. 4. he was resolved to have them wherever he should find them

ὅπου ἂν εὕρῃ, ξυλλαβεῖν βεβουλεύσθαι

- xv. 3. is it possible to believe that an agitator whom they adored when he was . . . will lose his hold on their affections . . . ? ἀρα δυνατόν ἐλπίζειν ὄντινα δημηγοροῦντα ἐτίμων ὅτε . . ., τοῦτον ἦσσαν τιμήσειν;
- xvii. 5. to take away from us whatever is most dangerous ὅ,τι ἂν σφαλερώτατον ἔχωμεν ἀφελεῖν

✓ § 29. The Relative *ὅστις* is used idiomatically in a concessive sentence ('although'):

- xi. 2. you ask what service he has seen, *though* he has been a soldier in Crete . . . εἴτα ἐρωτᾷς, ποῦ ἱστρατεύσατο, ὅστις ἐν Κρήτῃ ὀπλίτης ἦν.

Verb usages. §§ 30-35.

§ 30. The use of English *pluperfect* where Greeks have the aorist is the most constantly recurring point of idiom:

- ii. 3. he sent an officer to the place where Antonius *had been* carried ἐς τὸ οἶκημα . . . ἔπεμψεν, οἷπερ Ἀντώνιον τότε ἐκόμισαν

For other examples, see v. 1, v. 4, vi. 2, vi. 8, viii. 2.

§ 31. The use of μέλλω, and *not the future participle*, should be noticed, in cases like the following:

- iii. 4. [seeing himself entrapped,] with destruction awaiting him μέλλοντα ἀπολίσθαι [not ἀπολούμενον]

See explanation, p. 41.

§ 32. An important difference concerns the use of verbs of motion, as exemplified below :

I went to him *in* his *ἐς αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν*
house *ἦλθον*

i. 1. requesting him to meet *ἄξιούσα ἐς Ποτιδαίαν ἀπαν-*
her at Potidaea *τῆσαι.*

§ 33. Another very common idiom is the use of the *Passive* in English corresponding to the *Active* in Greek :

he ordered the statue *ἐκέλευσε τὸν ἀνδριάντα χρυσοῦν*
to be gilt

v. 4. by the terms, Calais *εἰρημένον ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς τὴν*
was to be restored *Νισαίαν ἀποδοῦναι*

viii. 4. he expected they *ἡξίου πέμψαι*
should be sent

The real principle is that Greek directness and simplicity prefers to describe *somebody doing* rather than *something done* : and where the agent is obvious, from common sense or the context, to omit him. See the full explanation on page 71.

So where English is active, very often in Greek the official who does the thing is omitted :

iv. 1. he ordered the porter *συμφράξαι ἐκέλευσε τὴν θύραν*
to shut the door

§ 34. The treatment of Interrogations raises a point or two of idiom.

(a) In *direct* speech, it is sometimes more lively to put a point in Greek interrogatively :

- xiii. 3. [If our dominions abroad are the root of this sedition] it is not intended to cut them off . . .
- [εἰ ἐκ τῆς ἑξωθεν ἀρχῆς τέθηλεν ἢ στάσις] πότερον ἐκείνην ἐξορύξουσιν . . . ;

(b) On the other hand, the Interrogation in a *Reported Speech* (Oratio Obliqua), so common in Latin and English, is not a Greek usage; but some verb must be introduced: The enemy (he said) had *ἡκόντων τῶν πολεμίων, ἀπορείν* come: how could they repel *ὅπως ἀμνούνται* them?

See explanation on p. 54.



§ 35. One regular usage of Oratio Obliqua is very important and often overlooked. The rule is this:—

In whatever way the Oratio Obliqua is introduced, after the first pause the construction reverts to the normal accusative and infinitive. The following various examples will clear up the point:—

he asked why they blamed him: he had done no harm to anybody *ἤρετο διὰ τί αἰτιῶνται· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐδένα ἀδικῆσαι*

he advised them not to let any one go; nor to open the gates: no one knew of the plot *εἰπεθε μηδένα ἀφίεναι μηδὲ τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαι· οὐδένα γὰρ ἐπίστασθαι οἷα ἐπιβουλεύουσιν*

a hint was given him that he would not survive it: His enemies intended to catch him *ὑποσήμηνέ τις ὥς οὐκέτι περιγενήσεται· διανοεῖσθαι γὰρ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀποκτείνειν*

they reported that the army was on the point of surrendering: failure of the supplies made them desperate *ἡγγειλαν ὅτι ὁ στρατὸς μέλλει ἐνδοῦναι· ἀπολιπόντων γὰρ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐν ἀπορίᾳ εἶναι*

Adverbs, etc. §§ 36-37.

§ 36. The *pregnant* use of prepositions and adverbs may be illustrated by the following:

- i. 6. she was ready to aid the Scotch τοῖς ἐκείνῃς ἤθελε ξυμπράσσειν [for τοῖς ἐκεῖ]
- vi. 4. thick on the shore they stood [threatening] οἱ ἐκ τῆς γῆς συχνοὶ συνέστασαν
- vii. 2. those in the cottage did not shoot at them οὐδὲν βέλος ἀφίεσαν οἱ ἐκ τῆς κώμης.

Again, in a totally different application of the principle:

- x. 5. he told the story to the authorities [i.e. he *went* and told] πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας πάντα ἐμήνυσεν.

§ 37. The *negative* method of expression is particularly common in Comparisons in Greek: ✓

- ii. 4. she would form the most attractive spectacle οὐδὲν ἔμελλε μᾶλλον ἐκείνης θαυμάζεσθαι.
- vi. 1. *emulating others*, whose deeds he had heard of τοὺς ἄλλους πυθόμενος οἷα ἔδρασαν οὐδ' ἀξιῶν αὐτὸς λείπεσθαι
- vii. 4. this was the greatest damage they sustained οὐδ' ἄλλο κάκιον οὐδὲν ἔπαθον
- xi. 2. he *only* spared from his military duties so much time as he thought best οὐδέποτε τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπέλειπεν, εἰ μὴ ὅσον ᾔετο δεῖν . . .

LECTURES.

I.—*QUEEN OF SCOTS.*

1. THE Queen of Scots was not long in receiving intelligence of what the lords intended against her. She sent to Murray, requesting him to meet her at Perth. 2. As he was mounting his horse a hint was given him that if he persisted he would not return alive, and that Darnley and Rizzio had formed a plan to kill him. He withdrew to his mother's castle and published the occasion of his disobedience. 3. Mary replied with a counter charge that Murray had proposed to take her prisoner and carry off Darnley to England. Both stories are probably true. 4. Murray's offer to Randolph is evidence sufficient against himself. Lord Darnley's conspiracy was no more than legitimate retaliation. 5. Civil war was fast approaching: and it is impossible to acquit Elizabeth of having done her best to foster it. 6. Afraid to take an open part lest she should have an insurrection on her hands at home, she was ready to employ to the uttermost the aid of the Queen of Scots' own subjects, and trusted to diplomacy or accident to extricate herself from the consequences.

1. The Queen of Scots was not long in receiving intelligence of what the lords intended against her. She sent to Murray, requesting him to meet her at Perth.

These two sentences in Greek would naturally be one, since they contain the account (a) of the information on which Mary acted, (b) of the action: and the connection between the two is therefore close and obvious. There is nothing else to note in the structure.

In the phrasing note a few small points. For the names, as usual, employ Greek names, or the convenient pronouns. For 'lords' [not *δεσπότης*, *κύριος*, *κοίρανοι*, or any other poetical terms the dictionaries may give, but] say *οἱ ὀλίγοι*, or *οἱ ἐν τέλει*, or *οἱ δυνατοί*, or even perhaps *οἱ ἔφοροι* (suggestive roughly of respective powers of king and high officials). 'Intend against,' *ἐπιβουλεύω*; we might say *διανοεῖσθαι κατὰ* (g.) or *ἐπὶ* (a.): but 'plot' is commoner. Observe specially 'to meet at Perth' [half will translate literally, using *ἐν*]. The English idiom is to use *one* preposition of motion, with the person; the Greek requires both person and place to depend on the verb, and therefore the place must also have prep. of motion (e.g. English says, 'I went to him *in* his house,' Greek, *ἐς αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν*). So here, *ἐς Ποτιδαίαν*.

The piece then begins: *ἡ δὲ οὐ διὰ πολλοῦ πυθομένη ἀπεβούλευον ἐκεῖνοι ἄγγελον ἐπεμψεν ὥς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀξιούσα ἐς Ποτιδαίαν ἀπαντῆσαι*.

2. As he was mounting his horse a hint was given him that if he persisted he would not return alive, and that Darnley and Rizzio had formed a plan to kill him. He withdrew to his mother's castle and published the occasion of his disobedience.

Again these two sentences are best united into one: for the first gives the information, and the second the consequent

action. Care must be taken about 'As he was mounting his horse.' If we do it literally, it will suggest to the matter-of-fact Greek that some one whispered in his ear as he was actually climbing. We might use μέλλω ἀναβαίνειν, but probably it is more natural to say, 'While he was preparing his horse.' Again, 'if he persisted' is obscure: we must say plainly, 'if he went.' 'To his mother's castle' [for which many will say, ἐς τὸν τῆς μητρὸς πύργον] sounds rather grotesque in Greek, as πύργος is poetic, and we do not expect 'mothers' to have 'castles.' It is more natural to say, 'to his mother to a fortified place': and 'to' with the person will be παρά. 'Occasion of his disobedience' make concrete as usual: 'why he did not obey.'

The whole sentence will then be: ὁ δὲ ἐν ᾧ παρεσκευάζετο τὸν ἵππον, ὑποσημαίνοντός τινος ὡς ἐὰν ἐκείσε ἦ, οὐκέτι περιγενήσεται (τὸν γὰρ Ἰππίαν καὶ τὸν Ῥιζαῖον μέλλειν ἀποκτείνειν), παρὰ τὴν μητέρα ἀπεχώρει ἐς χωρίον τι ἐχυρόν, καὶ πᾶσι διήγγειλε διὰ τί τῇ ἀδελφῇ οὐκ ἐπέιθετο.

Note περιγενήσεται, 'come out of it alive.'

The parenthesis, which gives the reason, is acc. with inf., the usual form into which *oratio obliqua* slides after the first clause.

3. Mary replied with a counter charge that Murray had proposed to take her prisoner and carry off Darnley to England. Both stories are probably true.

'Replied with a counter charge' must be made concrete: 'herself too charged him.' 'Both stories are probably true' must be made personal [beginners will say ἀμφοτέροι οἱ λόγοι, or perhaps, still worse, μῦθοι]. It will be sufficient to say, 'It is probable that each accused truly.'

4. Murray's offer to Randolph is evidence sufficient against himself. Lord Darnley's conspiracy was no more than legitimate retaliation.

These two clauses are both obscure and full of abstracts; they require great care to bring out the full sense. We must consider what is the exact fact meant and the exact argument conveyed in the allusive and terse sentences. It is somewhat as follows:—

'Murray was proved to be conspiring, since he had made such an offer' (we do not exactly know, without the context, what the offer was, but the convenient *τοιαῦτα* will suffice) 'to Randolph; and Darnley in plotting was justly repaying what he had suffered': or 'had the right to plot in his turn (*ἀντεπιβουλεύσαι*) against those who had conspired against him.' As to the words: 'take prisoner' is *συλλαβεῖν*; 'offer' is *ὑποσχέσθαι*; 'carry off' might be *ἀπάγειν*, or, as it was perhaps by sea, *διακομίσαι*.

We then get: *ἡ δὲ καὶ αὕτη αἰτίαν ἐπέφερεν ὥς ἐπιβουλεύσαντι ἑαυτὴν μὲν συλλαβεῖν τὸν δὲ Ἰππίαν Ἀθηνάζε διακομίσαι· καὶ εἰκὸς δὴ ἀληθῆ ἐγκαλεῖν ἐκάτερον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Μάριος δῆλος ἦν τι ἐπιβουλεύων ἐπεὶ τοιαῦτα τῷ Δελφινίῳ ὑπέσχετο· ὁ δὲ Ἰππίας ξυνομόσας δικάως ἅπερ ἔπασχεν ἀντημύνετο* (or the last clause) *δίκαιος δὴ ἦν τοῖς γε ξυνομόσασιν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἀντεπιβουλεύσαι*.

5. Civil war was fast approaching: and it is impossible to acquit Elizabeth of having done her best to foster it.

In 5 it is better to avoid abstracts [*στάσις προσήει*, or, worse, *πόλεμος τῶν πολιτῶν*, not Greek], and to make the subject of the verb as usual the *persons* concerned: *ἐκατέρωθεν ὅσον οὐπω ἐστασίαζον*, or *μόνον οὐκ ἐς πόλεμον ἤδη κατέστησαν*, or something of the kind, will be satisfactory.

'Foster' will give rise to metaphorical mistranslations [τρέφω, etc.]; we must say 'urge on' προτρέπω, or 'promote' πράσσω, or perhaps simply, best of all, προθυμείσθαι, or πρόθυμος εἶναι.

The greatest difficulty, however, is with the phrase 'it is impossible to acquit.' It will not do to translate it literally

ἡ δυνατόν ἀπολύσαι, οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο ἀπολύσαι, etc.],

cause ἀπολύω, 'to acquit,' is a metaphor from law-courts, and so inappropriate. We might say οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀμφισβητοῖ μὴ οὐ τοῦτο προθυμείσθαι τὴν Ἑλισσαν: or perhaps it would be sufficient to write καὶ πᾶσι δῆλον ὡς τοῦτο προθυμείτο, etc.

6. Afraid to take an 'open part' lest she should have an insurrection on her hands at home, she was ready to employ to the uttermost the aid of the Queen of Scots' own subjects, and trusted to diplomacy or accident to extricate herself from the consequences.

In 6, 'to take an open part' is simplest if φανερώς τι πράξαι be used.

'Have an insurrection on her hands.' We had best change the subject from Elizabeth, who *suffers*, to the insurgents, who *act*: it is the constant tendency of Greek to revert to the most primitive and natural mode of expression. We can say μὴ πράγματα παρέχωσι οἱ οἰκοθεν νεωτερίσαντες, where the sense of 'have on her hands' is given by the term πράγματα παρέχειν, 'to give trouble.' We might still more briefly say μὴ οἱ οἰκοθέν τι νεωτερίσωσιν: but perhaps a point is lost, and the other therefore better.

'The Queen of Scots' own subjects' may be conveniently abridged into τοῖς ἐκεῖ, or, more idiomatically and expressively, τοῖς ἐκεῖσε (implying messages and negotiations *sent to them*): this will save ἀρχόμενοι, or ὑπήκοοι, and other lumbering expressions. 'Diplomacy' will lead to various unnatural words of different degrees of harshness [τέχνη,

πρᾶξις, even προαίρεσις]: it means simply 'skill,' and the neatest word is γνώμη, commonly opposed to τύχη. 'Consequences' is instructively idiomatic: it means 'the *bad* consequences,' 'the difficult or dangerous consequences,' and the important predicate is suggested only in English, but should be expressed in Greek. Perhaps κίνδυνος is the smoothest word. [Many will say τὰ μέλλοντα, or ἀποβαίνοντα, vague and unnatural; some will say ἀποβησόμενα, doubly impossible.]

The whole concluding passage (5 and 6) will then be: ἐκατέρωθεν δ' οὖν ἐς πόλεμον ὅσον οὐπω κατέστησαν οἱ πολῖται· καὶ πᾶσι δῆλον ὡς τοῦτο οὐχ ἥκιστα προϋθυμῆτο ἡ Ἑλισσα. φανερώς μὲν γάρ τι πρᾶξιαι οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν, μὴ πράγματα παρέχωσιν οἱ οἰκοθεν νεωτερίζοντες· λάθρα δὲ τοῖς ἐκείσε ἐς πάντα ἤθελε ξυμπράσσειν, ὡς τοῦ κινδύνου ἢ γνώμη ἢ καὶ τύχη περιγεννησομένη.

note (1) δ' οὖν, *dismissing the question* of who was to blame, and reverting to facts;—(2) οὐχ ἥκιστα, common meiosis for 'most,' English 'done her best';—(3) λάθρα δέ, pointing contrast to φανερώς μὲν, making the sense clearer than in the English;—(4) ἢ καὶ τύχη, a little more dramatic than the English, suggesting her recklessness.

II.—*DEATH OF ANTONY.*

1. A SLAVE had brought the fatal dagger to Octavius, and exhibited the blood of his enemy still reeking upon it. The conqueror affected to weep for a man so closely allied to him, and one who had held so eminent a place in the commonwealth. 2. He pretended to be anxious to justify himself to those about him, and showed them the letters which had passed between them, in which his own moderation and the arrogance of his rival were conspicuously displayed. 3. In the meantime he sent a trusty officer, Proculeius, to the place whither Antonius had been carried in the agonies of death. The wounded man had already breathed his last; the doors of the massive sepulchre were closed, and the women refused to admit their strange visitor. 4. A threat of violence might drive the imprisoned queen to destroy herself, and the messenger was strictly charged to preserve her alive, partly for the sake of the hidden treasures which she alone, it was supposed, could reveal, and partly that she might form the most attractive spectacle in the destined triumph of Octavius. 5. Proculeius contrived to detain her in conversation with a confederate at the door, while with one two soldiers he climbed by a ladder to the upper story.

1. Reading the first two sentences—

A slave had brought the fatal dagger to Octavius, and exhibited the blood of his enemy still reeking upon it. The conqueror affected to weep for a man so closely allied to him, and one who had held so eminent a place in the commonwealth

—we notice that the subject is different from that of the piece generally. The whole passage is about Octavius, and the first two clauses describe the actions of the slave. But as these actions are the *occasion* of Octavius' affecting to weep, etc., it is more in accordance with the Greek continuous style to keep Octavius the subject, and put the slave in a subordinate sentence. We shall then say, 'Octavius, when the slave, etc. . . . reeking upon it, affected to weep,' etc. This will also conveniently get rid of 'the conqueror,' which has no special point here, and is merely used in Merivale's somewhat stiff English as a synonym for Octavius.

Secondly, note 'fatal' dagger. [Everybody will put *θανάσιμος, ὀλέθριος*, or some such word.] These will not read naturally: why? The reason is instructive, and applies to many similar adjectives in English when we are translating into Greek: namely, the word 'fatal' is *not part of the story*; it is not a descriptive but an allusive epithet. If he had said the 'long' dagger, the 'sharp' dagger, the 'enemy's' dagger, the adjective would have been wanted. 'Fatal' only implies that it was the dagger which had wounded Antony; and if we wish to express this, *we must not do it by an allusive epithet*, but directly, ἡ ἐκεῖνος διεφθάρη, or some such plain phrase. But the context tells us sufficiently that it was the dagger which had struck him, and 'fatal' should be omitted.

Again, 'his enemy' is periphrasis for 'Antony,' which therefore we shall substitute. 'Reeking' is too imaginative a word for Greek: the plain fact was that the dagger was 'bloody,' and that is enough. 'For a man so closely

allied' gives the reason for his affected grief, and can be conveniently done with ὥς and the participle: the *alliance* refers to the fact that Antony had married Caesar's sister Octavia, and is sufficiently rendered by οἰκείος.

With these hints the sentence can be easily turned as follows:
ὁ μὲν οὖν Ὀκτάβιος, ἐπειδὴ δοῦλός τις τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον
νεωστὶ ἐξημαγμένον παρέσχευ, ὀδύρεσθαι δὴ προσεποιεῖτο
ὥς οἰκείου τε ἀποθανόντος ἀνδρὸς καὶ εὐδοκίμου ἐν τῇ
πόλει γενομένου.

Note δὲ, dramatic particle, eminently suitable to a clause describing *pretence*. Note also the position of οἰκείου, giving strong prominence to the predicate. The τε . . . καὶ shows that εὐδοκίμου is also predicate.

2. In the next sentence we must first observe the structure—

He pretended to be anxious to justify himself to those about him, and showed them the letters which had passed between them, in which his own moderation and the arrogance of his rival were conspicuously displayed.

The first clause here being causal may be put in the participle, and then 'showed' will be the principal verb. In the last clause the abstracts 'moderation' and 'arrogance' will have as usual to be recast: and seeing that the clause virtually contains the motive for his showing the letters, it had better be put oblique, somewhat in this way: 'Wherein he thought that he should appear reasonable and the other arrogant.'

As to the phrasing, 'pretended' may be given by ὥς. For 'justify' we might use δικαιοῦν [beginners will say δικάζειν, or some such horror], but the simplest word is ἀπολογεῖσθαι. For 'letters which had passed between them' relative or participial constructions will be clumsy [τὰς γεγραμμένας, ἀποδοθείσας, ἐπιστολὰς αἱ ἐπέμφθησαν, and other worse versions], and it will be sufficient to say, 'the letters each,' τὰς ἐκάτερον.

The whole passage will then be: *ἐν δὲ τοῖς παρούσιν ὡς ἀπολογεῖσθαι βυλόμενος τὰς ἐκατέρου ἐπιστολὰς ἐπέδειξεν, ἡ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπιεικὴς ὤετο φανεῖσθαι, ἐκείνους δὲ μεῖζόν τι φρονούντα.*

We might have said in the last line *ἤδη γὰρ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπιεικὴς φανούμενος*, etc.

3. In the next two sentences—

In the meantime he sent a trusty officer, Proculeius, to the place whither Antonius had been carried in the agonies of death. The wounded man had already breathed his last; the doors of the massive sepulchre were closed, and the women refused to admit their strange visitor

—we observe first that the style, as usual in English rapid narrative, consists of short clauses, which in the Greek must be more linked together. ‘The wounded man’ in the place where it comes is merely a picturesque synonym for Antony; if it is to form part of the story it must be put in the *natural* place, *i.e.* in the previous clause.

‘Agonies of death,’ again, is conventional; the simpler Greek will merely say ‘dying,’ or ‘in a grievous state.’

‘Breathed his last’ is again a conventional euphemism; the Greeks say simply *τελευτᾶν*.

The whole sentence will be: *ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Προκλεῖον πιστὸν ὄντα ἐς τὸ μέγα οἶκημα ἔπεμψεν, οἷπερ τὸν Ἀντώνιον τετρωμένον καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔχοντα τότε ἐκόμισαν. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐτελεύτησεν, αἱ γυναῖκες οὔτε ἀνοῖξαι ἤθελον ἐτι τὰς θύρας, οὔτε ἐσδέχεσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα.*

Note (1) that the tomb is in the English called first ‘the place,’ and secondly, ‘the massive sepulchre,’ as is characteristic of this slightly artificial style. In the simpler Greek it is better to say once for all, ‘the large chamber’;—(2) the pluperfects ‘had been carried,’ ‘had breathed,’ are in Greek more naturally aorist, though *τότε* is conveniently added to the first to indicate vaguely that it happened before;—(3) the ‘strange visitor’ is sufficiently given by simply saying ‘the man’; or if it is thought preferable to express it as giving the reason for the exclusion, say *τὸν ξένον*.

4. The next sentence is the hardest :

A threat of violence might drive the imprisoned queen to destroy herself, and the messenger was strictly charged to preserve her alive, partly for the sake of the hidden treasures which she alone, it was supposed, could reveal, and partly that she might form the most attractive spectacle in the destined triumph of Octavius.

[Beginners will make all manner of mistakes here; first, by translating 'a threat of violence' literally, whereas in Greek *a threat* cannot drive, but *a man with a threat*. Secondly, for 'might drive' they will use *ἄν* with the optative: but to a Greek reader this construction would mean the historian's thought that it was likely to happen at the time he was writing.]

The real fact is that it is a *concealed oratio obliqua*; it really expresses the misgiving of Octavius, or of Proculeius, and in Greek we must make this clear. The story may be best told thus: 'But he was unable to use threats, lest the queen should destroy herself; for he had been strictly charged,' etc. Again, 'that she might form the most attractive spectacle,' being thoroughly idiomatic English, cannot be done literally. [Beginners will say, e.g., *θεάμα τὸ χαρίεστατον*.]

The real main thought is not that she should 'form a spectacle,' but that she should 'be present at the triumph.'

As to the phrasing, for 'destroy herself' the common expression is *ἐαυτὴν βιάζεσθαι*. 'Preserve alive' is *ζωγρεῖν*. 'Procession' is *πομπή*.

The whole passage will then be: *ὁ δὲ ἀπειλαῖς μὲν οὐκ εἶχε χρῆσθαι, μὴ ἐαυτὴν δὴ βιάσαιοτο ἢ βασιλεία. εἰρητο γὰρ ζωγρεῖν, τοῦ τε χρυσοῦ ἕνεκα ὡς μόνην εἰδυῖαν ἢ κέκρυπται, καὶ τῇ πομπῇ ἵνα παρείη, ἐν ᾗ οὐδὲν ἔμελλε μᾶλλον ἐκείνης θαυμάζεσθαι.*

Note (1) the dramatic *δὴ* where we give the motive;—(2) the simplifying of the sentence about the treasure;—(3) the convenient idiom of expressing the superlative 'most attractive spectacle' by the negative and concrete phrase, 'nothing was likely to be more admired.'

5. The piece ends—

Proculeius contrived to detain her in conversation with a confederate at the door, while with one or two soldiers he climbed by a ladder to the upper story.

The English again is obviously artificial. If done literally [as beginners will do] it involves the absurdity of making Proculeius detain her at the door while he climbs the ladder. We must say, 'he ordered a confederate to detain her,' etc. Again, as so often happens in English, what is really the principal verb ('he climbed') is put into the dependent sentence.

With these hints the sentence is easy : ὥστε παρὰ τῇ θύρᾳ τινα ἐπιτάξας, ἵνα διαλεγόμενος αὐτὴν ἐπίσχοι, αὐτὸς ὀλίγων ἐπομένων διὰ κλίμακος ἐς τὸ ὑπερῶν ἀνέβη.

Note (1) 'a confederate' may be simply turned by 'some one';—
(2) the natural order of events is kept, 'posting'—'conversing'—'detaining'—'few followers'—'ladder'—'climbed.'

III.—ZAPENA.

1. THESE arguments which had much logic in them were strongly urged by Zapena, whose counsels were usually received with deference. But on this occasion commanders and soldiers were hot for following up their victory. 2. They cared nothing for the numbers of the enemy: they cried, The more infidels the greater glory in destroying them. Delay might after all cause loss of the prize. 3. The archduke ought to pray that the sun might stand still for him that morning as for Joshua in the Vale of Ajalon. 4. The foe, seeing himself entrapped, with destruction awaiting him, was now skulking towards his ships, which still offered him the means of escape. Should they give him time he would profit by their negligence, and next morning when they reached Nieuport, the birds would be flown. 5. Especially the leaders of the mutineers were hoarse with indignation at the proposed delay. They had not left their brethren, they shouted, nor rallied to the archduke's banner, in order to sit down and dig the sand like ploughmen.

1. The piece begins—

These arguments which had much logic in them were strongly urged by Zapena, whose counsels were usually received with deference. But on this occasion commanders and soldiers were hot for following up their victory.

The first point to notice is the artificial punctuation of the sentence. The *thoughts* are: Though the arguments were good, and strongly urged, and by a man generally listened to, *they did not listen now*: and accordingly the full stop at 'deference' must be disregarded. But as the sentence would be a little heavy if the three clauses all came together under the word 'though,' it would be better to break them up, leaving the antithesis 'he was *usually* listened to, but not *now*,' for a second half of the sentence.

The rest of the difficulties concern the phrasing. 'Had much logic' is not like Greek at all: it will suffice to say 'sensible.' Again, on the principle of grouping the ideas round the persons and their acts, it is more natural in Greek to say 'he argued sensibly,' than to say 'the arguments (or words) were sensible.' For 'strongly urged' we might use the phrase *πολὺς ἐγκεῖσθαι* or *διῷσχυρίζομαι*: but it will perhaps be more convenient to couple two adverbial phrases, and say 'sensibly and with earnestness': *τοιαῦτα δὲ φρονίμως καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς παρήνει ὁ Ζαπόνας*.

We shall then pass from what *he* did to what *they* did, and so change the subject at the natural place. 'But they, though usually they listened respectfully to him, now being victorious were not willing to desist,' or otherwise, 'were anxious to follow up their success': and the nominative, as often happens, may be repeated distributively at the end, 'neither soldiers nor generals,' or 'both soldiers and generals,' according as our sentence is positive or negative. As to the phrasing, for 'listened respectfully' we may say *πειθεσθαι* or *ὑπακούειν*: for 'follow up' we may use *ἐπεξελθεῖν* or *χρῆσθαι τῇ νίκῃ*.

The second clause will then run : οἱ δὲ καίπερ ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ πειθόμενοι αὐτῷ, οἱ καίπερ ὑπακούειν αὐτῷ εἰσθότες, τότε μέντοι κατορθώσαντες χρῆσθαι ἐπεθύμουν τῇ νίκῃ καὶ λοχαγοὶ καὶ στρατιῶται.

Next we have—

2. They cared nothing for the numbers of the enemy : they cried,
The more infidels the greater glory in destroying them.
Delay might after all cause loss of the prize.

The English here is to a beginner very misleading. The first sentence appears to be the words of the narrator ; the second reports their cries ; the third seems again the words of the narrator. As a fact, all three describe their feelings and the expression of them ; the last clause being what so commonly occurs in English, a *concealed oratio obliqua*. Accordingly in Greek the last two sentences will be oblique : the first one either leading up to it, or itself also oblique. That is, we may either say ‘(They said) they did not fear the numbers of the enemy : the more infidels the greater glory, etc. Delay might after all,’ etc. : or we may say ‘They did not care,’ etc. (*oratio recta*) : ‘the more infidels,’ etc. (*oratio obliqua*) : ‘delays might,’ etc. (*oratio obliqua*).

As to the phrasing : ‘numbers’ must be τὸ πλῆθος, or τοσοῦτους ὄντας, or, ‘however many the enemy might be,’ ὅποσοι εἴεν. [The beginner will put ἀριθμός, or, worse, ἀριθμοί. Again, ‘infidels’ he will render ἄπιστος (=un-faithful), or ἄσεβής (=impious) : the latter at first sight a fair translation.] But the expression would look very unlike the usage of Greek prose. The reason is simple : the Greeks had no religious wars. The nearest corresponding feeling was the *national prejudice against non-Hellenic enemies*, whom they called βάρβαροι : I should therefore here use βάρβαροι. In the last clause we have three abstracts, *delay*, *loss*, *prize* : the sentence must, in accordance with our principles, be done

personally, and two at least will disappear. We shall then have, 'If they delayed, it was possible they might lose the advantage.'

The whole sentence will then run: οὐ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος δεδιέναι τῶν πολεμίων, ὥς ὅσφ πλείονες εἶεν [or Vivid, εἰσιν] οἱ βάρβαροι, τοσοῦτῳ μείζονι δόξῃ νικῆσοντας· ἦν δ' ἔτι μέλλωσι, φοβερὸν εἶναι μὴ σφαλῶσι τοῦ κέρδους [or μὴ ἀμάρτωσιν ὧν ἐφίενται].

In the second sentence, instead of τοσοῦτῳ μείζονι δόξῃ νικῆσοντας, we might use the idiomatic accusative absolute with ὥς, e.g., ὥς ὅσφ πλείονες εἶεν οἱ βάρβαροι τοσοῦτῳ μείζονα ἐσομένην τὴν δόξαν νικήσασιν, a turn which brings the true predicate ('greater the glory') into still clearer prominence.

[The beginner will use bad words for prize, ἀθλον, βραβεῖον, etc., and will make an abstract word subject of the last clause, τὴν γὰρ μέλλῃσιν τὸ ἀθλον ἂν ἀφελεῖν, which is very unlike classical Greek.]

3. The archduke ought to pray that the sun might stand still for him that morning as for Joshua in the Vale of Ajalon.

No difficulty here in structure: 'that the sun,' etc., is, of course, *oblique petition*, and acc. with infin.: some will be sure to put ἵνα, ὥς, or ὅπως erroneously. 'Vale,' if looked out, will probably bring the poetic words νάπη, or κλίτυς, the prose word for 'vale' being πεδῖον,¹ if needed at all. I should translate: δεῖν τοίνυν τὸν στρατηγὸν εὐξασθαι (ὥς Ἰωσὴς ἐλέγετο περὶ Αἴαλον) ἐπιστῆναι ἑαυτῷ τὸν ἥλιον ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ [or instead of ἐπιστῆναι, say ἀκίνητον γενέσθαι]. Just note that in the English 'as for Joshua,' etc., is made part of the prayer: it is more natural to make it a simple narrative parenthesis, as in the Greek.

¹ πεδῖον is usually translated 'plain': but 'vale' here means the flat land at the foot of the hills, and that is exactly what the Greek πεδῖον means.

4. The foe, seeing himself entrapped, with destruction awaiting him, was now skulking towards his ships, which still offered him the means of escape. Should they give him time he would profit by their negligence, and next morning, when they reached Nieuport, the birds would be flown.

In the connected style of Thucydides—indeed in any narrative Greek prose—this would probably be all one sentence, broken by a colon in the middle. As to the structure: use *Oratio Obliqua*, as it is still the feelings of the army that are being described. In the phrasing, note the following points: ‘entrapped’ is too metaphorical for Greek, and we had better use some word like *ἀπορία*, or *ἀμχανῶν*, or *κατειλημμένος*. ‘Seeing himself entrapped’ might be *εἰδότα τὸν πολέμιον ἐν οἷᾳ ἀπορία κατέχεται*. [The beginner will use two participles, one depending on another, always awkward: he will say *τοὺς πολεμίους αἰσθανομένους ἐμπλεκόμενους*, or something heavy like that: or else he will import what he conceives to be Greek metaphor for trap, *ἐς φρέατα*, or *ἐς παγίδα πεσόντας*—possible, but unnatural and unidiomatic: the other far better.] In the next, ‘with destruction awaiting him,’ of course the abstract must be changed: *μέλλοντα ἀπολέσθαι*, or perhaps neater *οὐδ’ ἂν οἰόμενον περιγενέσθαι* (‘not even expecting he could escape’—negative turns being often idiomatic). [Beginners will say *διαφθοράν* and such horrors: even more advanced students will use *future* participle, and say *ἀπολουμένων*. Note specially that the *present state of being about to do* anything should always be done by *μέλλω*, never by *future* participle.] ‘Skulking’ *ὑπεξίεναι*, the *ὑπὸ* giving notion of secrecy. ‘The ships, which still offered,’ etc.: avoid the personification, as ships in Greek prose do not usually ‘offer’ even safety: and say ‘by which they still hoped to escape’ [the beginner will say *τὰς ναῦς τὰς ἔτι προτιθείσας σωτηρίαν*, or some such expression: clumsy structure, personified,

abstract, and *πρωτ.* the wrong word]. 'Profit by negligence' will be *χρησεσθαι τῷ καιρῷ* ('use the opportunity') or something of the kind: the idea 'negligence' is much better put into its natural and true place, namely in the protasis: 'should they be negligent.' 'The birds would be flown' is an English proverbial expression, to translate which literally would be absurd. [I have had *τὰς ὄρνιθας πτομένας ἂν εὑρεῖν* and similar versions!!] Even to put it as a simile ('they would find them gone like birds') is making far too much of it: the plainer the better: say *οὐδένα ἔτι καταλήψεσθαι*.

The whole passage will then run: *εἰδότες γὰρ τὸν πολέμιον ἐν οἷᾳ ἀπορία κατέχεται καὶ οὐδ' ἂν οἰόμενον περιγενέσθαι ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς (ἢ ἐλπίς ἔτι σωθῆναι) λάθρα ὑπεξίεναι· ἣν δέ τις ἀμελήσῃ, χρησεσθαι αὐτὸν τῷ καιρῷ, καὶ ἐπειδὰν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐς Νέον Λιμένα ἀφίκωνται οὐδένα ἔτι καταλήψεσθαι.*

5. Especially the leaders of the mutineers were hoarse with indignation at the proposed delay. 'They had not left their brethren,' they shouted, 'nor rallied to the Archduke's banner, in order to sit down and dig the sand like ploughmen.'

Here, in the first clause, we revert to *Oratio Recta*, taking the oblique again in the last sentence. In the phrasing, 'especially' is frequently *οὐχ ἥκιστα*: 'leaders of mutineers' may be *οἱ τὴν στάσιν πράσσοντες* ('those who were arranging or promoting the sedition': *πράσσω* very conveniently vague and general in this sense): 'were hoarse,' of course avoid the elementary blunder of attempting this phrase literally [*τὴν φωνὴν ἐρρήγνυον* or again *ἐκερχον*, quite impossible and absurd; *διερρήγνυντο βοῶντες* needlessly strong], but use the idiomatic *δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο* or *ἐσχეტλαζον*, adding *βοῶντες* if preferred. 'At the proposed delay,' avoid abstract [*ἐπὶ τῇ μελλούσῃ μονῇ*, rather unidiomatic] and use the regular idiom after verbs of emotion,

ει with the future: 'proposed' may then be simply done with οὕτω. 'They had not left . . . in order to,' etc. Here is a real pitfall which will catch everybody. They will all begin οὐ γὰρ τοὺς ἑταίρους ἀπολιπεῖν, etc., and then proceed ἵνα καθήμενοι, etc. This is quite good grammar, and faithfully translated: but it will not do, for the simple reason that to a Greek reader it would convey that *they had not left their brethren*, the exact opposite of the truth; and even if he gathered the correct meaning at last, he would have begun with a false impression, which he would afterwards have to go back and revise—the very thing, of all others, which a good narrative avoids. The whole difficulty is escaped by beginning οὐ τούτου ἕνεκα, and then following with the final sentence in its natural place. 'Rallied to the banner' is of course technical metaphor, and there is no need for τὰς τάξεις or τὸ στρατόπεδον, still less any attempt at 'banner': but use simply the common word προσχωρεῖν, 'to join.' Lastly, 'sit down and dig the sand like ploughmen' is a vivid and startling phrase: but obviously the whole point of the indignant outburst is lost if we attempt to soften or paraphrase, and it must therefore be given literally.

The whole passage will then be: καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστα οἱ τὴν στάσιν πράσσοντες ἐσχετλιάζον καὶ δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο, εἰ οὕτω διατρίψουσιν [or εἰ διατριβὰς τοιαύτας ἐάσουσι γενέσθαι], οὐ τούτου δὲ ἕνεκα φάσκοντες τοὺς μὲν σφετέρους ἀπολιπεῖν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ προσχωρῆσαι, ἵνα ἐγκαθήμενοι τὴν ψάμμον ὡς γεωργοὶ ἐξορύττωσιν.

Note δὲ, common where a burst of feeling comes in: it is, as it were, a dramatic gesture. Note also ἐκείνῳ for 'the archduke': often a simple pronoun will suffice instead of a name or title.

IV.—PHYLLIDAS.

1. MEANWHILE, as the slave had been arrested, Phyllidas, sick with fears that he would confess under the rack, took to his bed. He ate nothing for three days, and lay barricaded in his house, giving orders to the porter to admit no one. 2. But the ephors having got all they could out of the slave, found that there were secrets which Phyllidas alone could explain: and the question was, how to extract them. 3. They could scarcely break open the house and seize Phyllidas himself: for violence to an Ambassador would be a mortal affront to the Thebans, and the time for open hostilities was not yet. 4. The services of the traitor Hyrlas were therefore again put in requisition. 5. The slave had written from prison to warn Phyllidas that no confidence could be placed in this emissary: but the letter had been intercepted, and Phyllidas, though he had vague misgivings, had no reason to suspect actual treachery. 6. Accordingly, the stages of the farce having been first duly arranged, the ephors sent for Hyrlas, examined him, and finding him contumacious (as he had been told to be), loaded him with irons and threatened him with torture. 7. In this seeming extremity he wrote to the Ambassador (the ephors of course allowing the letter to go) and implored his aid, particularly inquiring what he might reveal, and what he should try to hide even under the severest torture. Phyllidas fell into the trap, and sent him a full account of the plot, showing him what was vital to conceal: and the letter was forthwith taken to the ephors.

The first thing to notice in the first two sentences is, that it is all about the same person and the same set of facts, viz., about what Phyllidas did when he was afraid. It is better under these circumstances to make it all one sentence, in the natural fashion of the Greek continuous style.

The sentences run as follows :—

1. Meanwhile, as the slave had been arrested, Phyllidas, sick with fears that he would confess under the rack, took to his bed. He ate nothing for three days, and lay barricaded in his house, giving orders to the porter to admit no one.

In the details, the first point is the phrase 'sick with fears': it is best to say, 'fearing lest, etc. . . . he lay as though sick.' 'Under the rack,' on the general principle of Greek, is a participle, 'being tortured.' Again, 'to admit no one,' is put in Greek a little more naturally and simply, 'that no one should be admitted.'

The Greek will then be: συλληφθέντος δὲ τοῦ δούλου, ὁ Φ. ἐν τούτῳ ἀπορῶν καὶ δεδιὼς μὴ βασανιζόμενός τι ὁμολογῇ, ὥσπερ νοσῶν δῆθεν τρεῖς ἡμέρας οἶκοι ἄσιτος ὦν ἔκειτο, συμφράξαι κελεύσας τὴν θύραν μηδὲ εἰσιέναι μηδένα.

Note that 'the porter,' being the necessary official, need not be expressed. Greeks say, 'having ordered to shut the door.'

The next sentence is—

2. But the ephors having got all they could out of the slave, found that there were secrets which Phyllidas alone could explain : and the question was, how to extract them.

This is one of those places so common in Greek where the real thing which the writer wishes to convey is implied rather than actually expressed. The real facts, in the order in which they happened, are as follows :—They questioned the slave : they did not learn all from him : they thought Phyllidas knew the rest : they wanted to get it out of him, but

did not know how to do so. The sentence is quite easy if we tell these facts in the order in which they occur. It is enough to say, 'But the ephor having examined the slave, when they found they did not yet know all, wished to learn the rest from Phyllidas, as alone knowing it: but being at a loss,' etc.

3. They could scarcely break open the house and seize Phyllidas himself: for violence to an Ambassador would be a mortal affront to the Thebans, and the time for open hostilities was not yet.

In this sentence, 'they could scarcely,' etc., is again a concealed *Oratio Obliqua*: say, 'they knew they could not,' or 'they did not wish to,' etc. Again, 'violence . . . mortal affront . . .' are abstracts, and must be done as usual by turning: say, 'if they did violence to . . . the Thebans would be indignant . . .' So, again, 'open hostilities' must be turned by 'manifest war' or some such phrase.

The whole sentence (2 and 3) will then be: οἱ δὲ ἔφοροι ἐξελέγξαντες τὸν δούλον, ἐπεὶ οὐπω πάντα ἐξεύρον τὰ ἕτερα παρὰ Φ. ἐβούλοντο μαθεῖν ὡς μόνου εἰδότος· ἀποροῦντες δὲ πῶς χρὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἤθελον διαρρήξαντες τὴν οἰκίαν ξυλλαβεῖν αὐτόν, ὡς τῶν μὲν Θ. χαλεπῶς ἀνφερόντων εἰ τὸν γε πρεσβεύτην βιάσαιντο αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐπω ἔτοιμοι ὄντες ἐς φανερόν πόλεμον καταστήναι, ταῦτα οὖν ἐνθυμούμενοι, etc.

Note, at the end of the subordinate clauses, the summarising phrase, ταῦτα οὖν ἐνθυμούμενοι.

4. The services of the traitor Hyrlas were therefore again put in requisition.

There are several points in this which want attending to. 'Services' abstract: say, 'use,' *χρῆσθαι*. 'Traitor': it will not do to say *προδότης*, because this is the first time we have heard of him, and therefore we must say, 'who had

before given information,' or some such turn. 'Put in requisition' goes of course with 'services': 'had to use' is enough.

The passage then is: ταῦτα οὖν ἐνθυμούμενοι Ἕρλα τῷ πρότερον μὲνύσαντι αὐθις διεννοοῦντο χρῆσθαι.

5. The slave had written from prison to warn Phyllidas that no confidence could be placed in this emissary: but the letter had been intercepted, and Phyllidas, though he had vague misgivings, had no reason to suspect actual treachery.

Here the story goes back to a considerable time before, and then comes on to the moment when Hyrlas is wanted. It is more natural in Greek to say, 'Phyllidas, though he suspected . . . yet knew nothing certain . . . for though the slave had sent . . . yet the ephors . . .'

As to the wording: 'intercepted' is merely 'caught.' For 'confidence be placed,' say 'trust.' 'Actual treachery' is an abstract expression, and should be made personal: 'did not know that he was a traitor.'

Then the passage may be done as follows: ὁ δὲ Φ. καίπερ ἐν ὑποψίᾳ τοῦτον ἔχων, προδιδόντα μέντοι οὐπω σαφῶς ἠπίστατο· πέμψαντος γὰρ ἐκ φυλακῆς τοῦ δούλου, ὥστε μηκέτι τῷ Ἕρλα πεποιθέναι, ἐαλώθη ὁ ἄγγελος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφόρων.

Note (1) the phrase ἐν ὑποψίᾳ ἔχειν: so ἐν αἰτίᾳ, ἐν ὁρῇ;—(2) the convenient use of ὥστε, giving the *practical conclusion* of the message.

Then we have:—

6. Accordingly, the stages of the farce having been first duly arranged, the ephors sent for Hyrlas, examined him, and finding him contumacious (as he had been told to be), loaded him with irons and threatened him with torture.

First observe 'contumacious': the meaning is simply that he refused to tell anything. Next, 'the stages of the farce,' say, 'preparing everything for the deceit,' or something of the kind. 'Loaded with irons' is simply 'bound': for 'torture' use the verb βασανίζω.

Then the Greek will be: πάντα οὖν ἐς τὴν ἀπάτην παρασκευασάμενοι μετεπέμψαντο οἱ ἔφοροι τὸν Ἴδριον ὡς ἐλέγοντες· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν δὴ (ὡς εἶρητο) ὡμολόγει δήσαντες βασανιεῖν ἠπειλουν.

7. In this seeming extremity he wrote to the Ambassador (the ephors of course allowing the letter to go) and implored his aid, particularly inquiring what he might reveal, and what he should try to hide even under the severest torture. Phyllidas fell into the trap, and sent him a full account of the plot, showing him what was vital to conceal: and the letter was forthwith taken to the ephors.

As to structure:—the parenthesis is not quite in its natural place, as it is better to say first that the man wrote the letter, and what was in it, and then explain that the ephors allowed the letter to go.

‘Under the severest torture’ should be done by a participle.

‘Fell into the trap’: avoid metaphors. Say, ‘deceived.’

The hardest word is ‘vital.’ Perhaps it would be enough to say ἀναγκαῖον: but if it is to be fully expressed, we must say, ‘what it is necessary to hide, or totally fail,’ or some such phrase. In Greek perhaps ἡ τοῦ παντός σφαλῆναι.

The last piece will then be: ὁ δὲ ὡς ἔσχατα δῆθεν ἀμνηστῶν γράψας ἄλλα τε ἐλπίζει ἐκεῖνον ὥστε βοηθεῖν, καὶ ἀνάγκην ἔφη εἶναι διδάσκειν τί δεῖ μνηστεύειν καὶ ποῖα χρὴ καίπερ δεινότατα πάσχοντα σιωπᾶν. ὁ δὲ Φ. διένεικνεν ὡς εἰκὸς τῶν ἐφόρων τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ἐξαπατηθεὶς πάντα ἐξείπε, δηλώσας ἅμα ἅπερ δέοι ἀποκρύπτειν ἢ σφαλῆναι τοῦ πάντος. ταῦτα δὲ εὐθὺς τοῖς ἐφόροις ἡγγέλθη.

Note (1) ‘seeming’ done with ὡς and δῆθεν, the latter implying that the appearance was only assumed;—(2) ὥστε again after the word of entreaty, idiomatic, though often as here logically superfluous.

[As to the errors which will most naturally occur, we may just note the following:—In 1, 'sick with fears' will be done literally; 'barricaded' will be done *passive*: which would suggest to a Greek reader that it was done against his will by somebody else. In 2, the structure will be probably servilely followed in imitation of the English: this, as explained above, will be more obscure than Greek likes. In 3, there is nothing but the abstracts and the concealed Oratio Obliqua, sufficiently explained above. In 4, nothing. In 5, we shall have the order wrong, and unnecessary pluperfects. In 6, 'the stages of the farce' will lead to a great many harsh and impossible phrases; they will translate by the words and not by the sense. 'Loaded with irons,' again, will lead to absurdities. In 7 there will be not many mistakes except about words: 'seeming extremity,' 'severest torture,' 'full account,' 'plot,' and 'vital,' will be the chief things.]

V.—CALAIS.

1. THE Queen, since her misadventure at the time of the Scotch marriage, had resolved to have no more to do with the insurgents in that quarter. Interference between subjects and sovereign had never been to her taste. 2. She had yielded with half a heart to the urgency of Cecil, and had gone far enough to commit herself without having meant even then to go further. The result had been failure, and the alienation of a powerful party, till then her devoted adherents. 3. She was now again confronted with a similar situation, at a time which was extremely critical. 4. The eight years after which, by the terms of the peace, Calais was to be restored to England, had just expired. She had sent in her demand. 5. The French replied that the peace had been violated by England, in the occupation of Havre, and that the provisions were no longer binding. 6. The dispute was hanging. What was she to do? As usual, she attempted to extricate herself by delays and ambiguities. The Ambassador's instructions were out of date before he had started.

1. The Queen, since her misadventure at the time of the Scotch marriage, had resolved to have no more to do with the insurgents in that quarter. Interference between subjects and sovereign had never been to her taste.

In sentence 1, and down to the end of 2, we notice that the tenses of the principal verbs are all pluperfect: seeing

that it all refers to a previous difficulty to the one which is the immediate subject of the piece, namely, the difficulty about Calais. In this matter the English is much more accurate than the Greek, and in the latter it is not idiomatic to use the pluperfect, but the ordinary narrative aorist, the time being defined by some word like *τότε* or *πρότερον*. As to the details, 'misadventure' is vague; say, 'her plans about the marriage failed.' For 'Scotch,' and 'in that quarter,' it is enough to use the convenient 'there.' In the second clause of 1 we notice that the time is again changed, and it is even previous to that in the first clause. Again, in Greek use the simple past. If the abstracts are properly turned, it runs somehow like this: 'for not even before did she like to lead subjects into sedition with their ruler.'

The Greek for 1 may then be as follows: *Ἡ δὲ ὡς τὰ περὶ τὸν γάμον τότε οὐ κατώρθωσεν, τοῖς ἐκεῖ στασιάζουσιν οὐκέτι ἤθελε ξυμπράσσειν· οὐδεπώποτε γὰρ ἐβούλετο τοὺς πολίτας ἐς στάσιν ἄγειν τῇ ἀρχούσῃ.*

2. She had yielded with half a heart to the urgency of Cecil, and had gone far enough to commit herself without having meant even then to go further. The result had been failure, and the alienation of a powerful party, till then her devoted adherents.

Here the first clause may be tied on to the preceding: 'she yielded,' etc. 'Urgency' must of course be turned, 'Cecil urging her': *προθυμουμένου*, or *πείθοντος*: 'with half a heart' is 'scarcely,' *μόλις*. 'And had gone far enough,' is merely the explanation of 'yielded,' and will be most easily done by a consecutive clause, 'so as to,' etc. 'Commit herself' is very idiomatic English, and must be interpreted: the meaning is that she had gone so far as to promise, but had not even from the first intended to perform; and this is to give in a variety of ways. The last sentence of 2 is a kind of summary of what has gone before, and may be

tied on to 3 by a participial construction, thus :—‘accordingly, having failed, and having alienated,’ etc., ‘she now again,’ etc.

ἀλλὰ προθυμουμένου τοῦ Κ. μόλις ἐπείθετο, ὥστε λόγῳ γοῦν τι ὑποσχεσθαι, ἔργῳ οὐδὲ τότε διανοησαμένη ἐκτελεῖν [or, perhaps better, ἐπεξιέναι]. σφαλεῖσα τοίνυν ὧν ἥλπιζε, καὶ τοσούτοις ἀνδράσιν, ἐπιτηδειοτάτοις πρὶν ὑπάρχουσιν, ὑποπτος γενομένη [or ἐς ἔχθραν, or διαφορὰν καταστᾶσα] etc.

- (1) Notice the common Greek antithesis of λόγῳ and ἔργῳ ;—
 (2) observe the idiom of τοσούτοις for πολλοῖς or δυνατοῖς.

3. She was now again confronted with a similar situation, at a time which was extremely critical.

This clause offers the real difficulty. It implies more than it says, for it really expresses in the narrative form, not what was the case, not what happened, but what *she felt to be the case*: it is again a concealed Oratio Obliqua. She had had experience, and this experience showed her that the same difficulty had come again in a time which was, *owing to other things*, already critical. It is perhaps best to express this fully, and say: ‘when she saw that she had come into a similar case, and that, too, being already in peril on other accounts, she was in great perplexity.’

The Greek will be : ὥς ᾤσθητο αὐτῇς ἐς ταῦτὸ καταστᾶσα, καὶ ταῦτ’ ἤδη δι’ ἄλλο τι κινδυνεύουσα, πάσῃ δὴ ἀπορίᾳ κατείχετο.

4. The eight years after which, by the terms of the peace, Calais was to be restored to England, had just expired. She had sent in her demand.

The verbs here are all pluperfects, as at the beginning, and are to be treated in the same way. The order must be carefully observed: first the terms of the treaty: then the time expired: then the demand. [The beginner will follow

the English order, and it will be very confused and obscure.] We shall say: 'It having been stated in the treaty that after eight years Calais, etc., . . . since the time was expired . . . she sent in her demand.'

As to the phrasing, for 'stated' use the convenient accusative absolute *εἰρημένον*. For 'be restored,' use the idiomatic active, *ἀποδοῦναι*. 'Sent in her demand' is (as often) vague: say, 'she demanded to receive it back.'

The Greek will then be: *εἰρημένον γὰρ δι' ὀκτὼ ἐτῶν τοὺς πολεμίους Νισαίαν ἀποδοῦναι, ὥς ὁ χρόνος ἐτελεύτησεν, ἥξιόν παραλαβεῖν*.

Notice διὰ ὀκτὼ ἐτῶν, the proper preposition for 'after an interval of.' Νισαίαν is used for Calais, being the port of the Megarians, the jealous neighbours of Athens.

5. The French replied that the peace had been violated by England, in the occupation of Havre, and that the provisions were no longer binding.

In these clauses the agents of course must be made personal, and instead of 'England,' we must say *τοὺς Ἀγγλοὺς*, or even *ἐκείνην*: so again with 'the occupation': it must be done by a participle. So in the next clause, 'and that the provisions were no longer binding' must be also done personally, that is to say, 'so that they were no longer under the truce,' or some such phrase. The word *ὑπόσπονδος* will come in very conveniently.

The Greek will then be: *οἱ δὲ ἐκείνην ἔφασαν ἀδικῆσαι Μέγαν Λιμένα καταλαβοῦσαν ὥστε μηκέτι ὑπόσπονδοι εἶναι*.

6. The dispute was hanging. What was she to do? As usual, she attempted to extricate herself by delays and ambiguities. The Ambassador's instructions were out of date before he had started.

In this there are several small difficulties: the first clause, 'the dispute was hanging,' is highly metaphorical, and must,

of course, be interpreted. The meaning is that nothing was as yet decided on. As to the second clause, 'What was she to do?' we must observe that it is not idiomatic in Greek, as in Latin, to introduce into the narrative style questions even in *Oratio Obliqua*. We must say, 'being at a loss,' or otherwise give the sense. Also the two sentences must be joined with one another, and with the following clause. For 'delays and ambiguities' one may say *τριβαί καὶ προφάσεις*, and for 'extricate herself' we must explain *what* she tried to extricate herself from. The first part of 6 will then be: *ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν πω ξυνέβη, ἀποροῦσα δὴ ἐς διατριβὰς καὶ προφάσεις ἐτράπετο, ἦν πῶς τοῦ πράγματος ἀπαλλαγῇ*. The greatest difficulty is, however, with what remains. 'The Ambassador's instructions were out of date before he had started' is a very idiomatic and allusive way of saying that before the Ambassador started the Queen had repented of the orders which she had given him. In any case the Queen must be made the subject of the main verb. If we follow the English, and make the Ambassador the subject, the whole thing becomes at once obscured. It is not a bad opportunity for using the well-known Thucydidean expression, *ἐς τοῦτο περιέστη ὥστε . . .*, which conveys to the reader expressly what the English gives implicitly, that the most striking proof of the Queen's vacillation and inscrutability as to her policy was the fact that the Ambassador's orders were cancelled almost before he had left the country. The rest of the English offers no difficulty.

We shall then have: *καὶ ἐς τοῦτο δὴ περιέστη ὥστε πρὶν καὶ ἀνάγεσθαι τὸν πρεσβεύτην ἅπερ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὴ μετεγίγνωσκειν*.

[One word more as to some mistakes which will be likely to be made. In 1 there is not much besides the abstracts 'misadventure' and 'interference.' It may be worth while to warn the beginner against looking out the word 'interference': he will only get words like *τὸ πολυπραγμονεῖν*,

or something equally useless : whereas the only satisfactory translation will be got by thinking out the exact meaning in this particular place, as given above. In 2 the student should particularly notice the phrase, 'go far enough,' and 'go further': any translation with anything about *going* in it will altogether be inadmissible, as the 'going' here is purely metaphorical. Again, in the word 'alienated,' it is better to avoid active words like ἀλλοτριόω: the real fact is that she *becomes* something, not that she *does* anything. In 3 there will probably be nothing that has not already been handled. In 4 the temptation will be to make the eight years the subject, as it is in the English. This should be avoided. In 5, as often, there will be a tendency to use τὸ with the infinitive instead of a participle: the advantage of the latter is that the narrative is kept personal. Also 'the provisions binding' will be done by making εἰρήνη the subject: again, we must have the living subject. In 6 there will be a vast number of 'dog' expressions. 'Ambiguities' will be ἀμφιλογία: 'instructions' will be λόγοι: 'out of date' will be done by an adjective, ἐωλός, παλαιός, ἀρχαῖος, and others of varying degrees of impossibility. The true way is given, and discussed sufficiently, above.]

VI.—PAULINUS.

1. At last, over-confident of his present actions, and emulating others, of whose deeds he heard from abroad, he marches up as far as Mona, the isle of Anglesey, a populous place. 2. For they, it seems, had both entertained fugitives, and had given good assistance to the rest that withstood him. 3. He makes him boats fitted to the shallows which he expected in the narrow firth; his foot so passed over, his horse waded or swam. 4. Thick upon the shore stood several gross bands of men well weaponed, many women like furies running to and fro in dismal habit, with hair loose about their shoulders, held torches in their hands. 5. The Druids (those were their priests, of whom more in another place) with heads lift up to heaven uttering direful prayers, astonished the Romans; who at so strange a sight stood in amaze, though wounded; 6. at length awakened and encouraged by their general, not to fear a barbarous and lunatic rout, fell on, and beat them down scorched and rolling in their own fire. 7. Then were they yoked with garrisons, and the places consecrate to their cruel rites destroyed. For whom they took in war, they held it lawful to sacrifice; and by the entrails of men used divination. 8. While thus Paulinus had his thought still fixed to go on winning, his back lay broad open to occasion of losing more behind; for the Britons, urged and oppressed with many unsufferable injuries, had all banded themselves together to a general revolt.

1. At last, over-confident of his present actions, and emulating others, of whose deeds he heard from abroad, he marches up as far as Mona, the isle of Anglesey, a populous place.

This sentence looks easier than it is ; several points require notice if we wish to be idiomatic. 'His present actions' is abstract, and of course has to be done by turning ; but it will be a little better to say 'proud of what he is devising' or 'intending,' than 'of what he is doing': it will express the real fact more accurately. The next clause also requires care : if we do it literally, 'imitating others, of whose deeds,' etc., the Greek sounds harsh. The real sense comprises two things, a *feeling* and a *fact*: he had heard of the successes of others, and he wished to imitate them : we shall accordingly do it best by giving these two things in the right order. For 'deeds' say *οἷα ἔδρασαν*: for 'desirous to imitate' say *μυμῆσθαι ἐπιθυμῶν*, or, perhaps better, 'not choosing to be outdone,' *οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀξίων λείπεσθαι*. 'The isle of Anglesey' being an explanation of the word 'Mona,' it will be more in the manner of Thucydides to say in a parenthesis, 'and some call it Anglesey.'

The whole will then be: *τέλος δὲ μείζον δὴ φρονῶν ἐφ' οἷς νῦν βουλεύει, καὶ ἅμα τοὺς ἄλλοι πυθόμενος οἷα ἔδρασαν οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀξίων λείπεσθαι, μέχρι Μῶνης τῆς νήσου ἐστράτευσεν πολυανθρώπου οὐσης· καλοῦσι δέ τινες Ἀγγλέσειαν.*

Note (1) the phrase (and its order) *Μῶνης τῆς νήσου*;—(2) the inserted participle *οὐσης*.

2. For they, it seems, had both entertained fugitives, and had given good assistance to the rest that withstood him.

There is no great difficulty here : we must just remember that it is commoner to avoid the pluperfect : for 'had entertained,' 'had given,' it is enough to use the aorist or imperfect. 'The rest that withstood him' might be literally *οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐναντιούμενοι* : but it is rather more idiomatic to say 'those who anywhere else withstood him.'

The whole will then be: οὔτοι γὰρ φύγαδός τε δὴ ἐδέξαντο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλῃ πῃ ἐναντιούμενοις ἐβοήθουν.

Note (1) idiomatic δὴ which here has an English corresponding phrase 'it seems';—(2) imperfect ἐβοήθουν more suitable to the continued assisting, while aorist ἐδέξαντο describes better the single act of receiving.

3. He makes him boats fitted to the shallows which he expected in the narrow firth; his foot so passed over, his horse waded or swam.

Three small points here: first, it would be a little smoother to begin less abruptly, and say 'having arrived and having made boats.' Next, 'fitted to the shallows' might be literal, ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς βραχέσι, but it is natural and neater in Greek to say ὡς πρὸς τὰ βραχέα. Finally, for 'he expected' it will be enough to say εἰκὸς ἦν or simply εἰκός.

The sentence will then be: ἀφικόμενος δὲ καὶ πλοῖα ποιησάμενος ὡς πρὸς τὰ βραχέα (οἷα εἰκὸς ἐν τῷ στενῷ εἶναι) οὕτω δὴ τὸν πεζὸν διεβίβαζε. τῆς δὲ ἵππου τὸ μὲν διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος βάδην ἐχώρει τὸ δὲ νηχόμενον.

Note (1) ἡ ἵππος collective for 'the cavalry.'

4. Thick upon the shore stood several gross bands of men well weaponed, many women like furies running to and fro in dismal habit, with hair loose about their shoulders, held torches in their hands.

No structural difficulty here. We may perhaps use the Greek pregnant idiom, 'those from the shore,' οἱ ἐκ τῆς γῆς. 'Furies' may be Ἐρινύες, or Εὐμενίδες, or better μαινάδες. 'Dismal habit' is simply old-fashioned English for 'mourning' or 'black': 'about their shoulders' may be literal, ἀμφὶ τοὺς ὤμους, or, as it is an English idiom, may even be omitted.

We shall then have for the whole: οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς γῆς συχνοὶ ἔστιν ἢ συνέστασαν καὶ ὅπλα ἱκανὰ παρεσκευασμένοι, γυναῖκες δὲ ἅμα μαινάσιν ὅμοιαι περιέτρεχον τὰς τρίχας λελυμέναι καὶ ἐσθῆτα μέλαιναν φοροῦσαι δῶδός τε ἔχουσαι ταῖς χερσίν.

5. The Druids (those were their priests, of whom more in another place) with heads lift up to heaven uttering direful prayers, astonished the Romans; who at so strange a sight stood in amaze, though wounded;

This sentence contains an instance of artificial style common in English: that is to say, it begins about the acts of the Druids and slides into the acts of the Romans. In the simpler Greek these two must be kept clearly apart: the first clause must contain what the Druids did, and the next must begin, 'the Romans astonished,' etc. Again, the Druids not having been mentioned before, it is more simple and clear to begin thus: 'the priests—they call them Druids,' etc. The rest is easy. οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς (Δρυῖδας δὲ καλοῦσι, περὶ ὧν πλείον ἐσαῦθις λεκτέον) ὑπτίας ἄραντες τὰς κεφαλὰς δεινὰ ἐπηρώντο· τοιαύτη δὲ τῇ ὄψει ἐκπεπληγμένοι τέως μὲν ἡσύχαζον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καί περ τραυματισθέντες.

Note: As they stood for some time, and then, in the next sentence, did something else, it is better in Greek to put in *τέως μὲν*, to lead up to the 'at length' which follows in the next clause.

6. at length awakened and encouraged by their general not to fear a barbarous and lunatic rout, fell on, and beat them down, scorched and rolling in their own fire.

Here 'awakened' is metaphorical, and we must avoid the metaphor. 'Encouraged' is better not passive, and can easily be done with the genitive absolute. The tendency of Greek is so constantly to keep the active where convenient, since it is rather more simple and direct to say, 'the general encouraged,' than to turn it the other way, 'the men were encouraged by the general.' 'Rout' is abstract; and we shall say, 'men barbarous and raging.'

The Greek will then be: τέλος δὲ παραμυθουμένου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ὅπως μὴ βαρβάρους ἄνδρας καὶ μαινομένους φοβήσονται τότε δὴ ἀναθαρσίσαντες ἐπέθεντο καὶ καταβάλλοντες αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῶν πυρὰ κυλινδουμένους τε καὶ καιομένους κατεστρέψαντο.

Note (1) the idiomatic use of τότε δὲ, so commonly inserted for clearness as a kind of summary after a number of previous phrases or participles giving the circumstances; note also (2) the use of ὅπως with the future, which, as it is properly used in direct commands,—‘see that you do’ so and so,—gives a vivid touch to the indirect narrative.

I have ended with κατεστρέψαντο, ‘subdued,’ which is implied in the English account, and which it is more in accordance with the Greek idiom to express in words.

Then were they yoked with garrisons, and the places consecrate to their cruel rites destroyed. For whom they took in war, they held it lawful to sacrifice; and by the entrails of men used divination.

Here again we have an artificiality of structure; for in the English the subject of both clauses is ‘the Britons’; while in reality the actions in the first clause are the actions of the Romans. All we have to do therefore in Greek is to continue the same nominative—‘the Romans’—in the first clause, and then change to the Britons. ‘Yoked’ is an old-fashioned word, and simply means here ‘kept under.’ An instructive difficulty arises with the phrase, ‘consecrate to their cruel rites’: if we translate it literally it will sound very harsh. The truth seems to be this: ‘cruel’ really suggests, in a single word, *the reason why* the Romans destroyed the temples; the more simple and child-like Greek style would expressly state it. If we say in Greek, ‘They destroyed the sanctuaries, and stopped them from using any more such rites,’ we have a thoroughly clear and Thucydidean clause, and we have turned all the ideas.

The Greek will then be: ἐνταῦθα δὲ τοὺς μὲν φρουρίοις κατεῖχον, τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ καθελόντες ἔπαυσαν μηκέτι τοιοῦτοι χρησθαι σφαγίοις· νόμιμον γὰρ οὗτοι ᾤοντο οὓς πολέμῳ ἔλοιεν θῦσαι, σπλάγχνοις τε ἀνθρωπίνοις ἐμαντεύοντο.

Note (1) the convenient and idiomatic use of τοιοῦτος for ‘cruel.’ This word will very frequently do for strong adjectives, especially adjectives which express a judgment on something that is being

related, and where the particular character of the adjective is easily inferred from the context;—(2) the indefinite optative for 'took': a general statement;—(3) the regular *μηκέτι* after the *hindering* or *quasi-negative* word *παύω*.

8. While thus Paulinus had his thought still fixed to go on winning, his back lay broad open to occasion of losing more behind; for the Britons, urged and oppressed with many unsufferable injuries, had all banded themselves together to a general revolt.

First, Paulinus, *the person*, must be subject all through. We must say, '*he* was in danger of losing,' not '*his back*.' Again, '*go on winning*' is a little vague, and in good Greek would be rather more precisely expressed: '*to advance still more*,' '*to over-run the further countries*,' or something of that sort. In the last clause the verb will be once more, naturally, not pluperfect but aorist; and the word '*unsufferable*,' which might be done literally, *οὐκ ἀνεκτός*, will be still more neatly put into a participle, '*suffering and no longer able to put up with it*,' *πάσχοντες καὶ οὐκέτι ἀνεχόμενοι*. Lastly, '*to a general revolt*' will be best by the construction '*so that*,' *ὥστε*, which is so much commoner in Greek than in English, and is used to express so many different connections.

The whole end will then be: *ὁ δὲ Παυλῖνος, οὕτω τὰ ἔτι πορρωτέρω διανοούμενος καταδραμεῖν, τὰ ὀπισθεν ἐκινδύνεε τι σφαλῆναι. οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι δεινότατα πάλαι πάσχοντες καὶ οὐκέτι ἀνεχόμενοι κοινῇ ἤδη γνώμῃ ξυνώμοσαν ὥστε ἀποστήναι.*

Note (1) the euphemism *τι σφαλῆναι* for '*losing more behind*': bad things are often euphemistically lightened in Greek, and captains and generals are often dreading *τι παθεῖν* or *σφαλῆναί τι*, rather than '*disaster*' or '*defeat*' or '*death*';—(2) the tense *πάσχοντες* with *πάλαι*: the present expresses in the participle simple *continuance*, not the time at all: the *time* is given by *πάλαι*;—(3) *ἤδη* makes it quite clear that the conspiracy was *prior* to Paulinus's present plans.

VII.—CLEVELAND.

1. THE effect of all this providence was not such as was reasonably to be expected. 2. The night grew dark and misty as the enemy could wish; and about three in the morning the whole body of the horse passed with great silence between the armies, and within pistol-shot of the cottage, without so much as one musket discharged at them. 3. At the break of day, the horse were discovered marching over the heath, beyond the reach of the foot; and there was only at hand the Earl of Cleveland's brigade, the body of the king's horse being at a greater distance. 4. That brigade, to which some other troops which had taken the alarm joined, followed them in the rear; and killed some, and took more prisoners: but stronger parties of the enemy frequently turning upon them, and the whole body often making a stand, they were often compelled to retire; yet followed in that manner, that they killed and took about a hundred; which was the greatest damage they sustained in their whole march. 5. The notice and orders came to Goring when he was in one of his jovial exercises; which he received with mirth, and slighting those who sent them, as men who took alarms too warmly; and he continued his delights till all the enemy's horse were passed through his quarters; nor did then pursue them in any time.

1. The effect of all this providence was not such as was reasonably to be expected.

A thoroughly abstract sentence of the most characteristic English sort. The real *personal* meaning is quite hidden away. Recasting it into the personal form it becomes something of this sort: 'Although they had made such careful preparation, the matter did not turn out according to their expectations.'

There is then no further difficulty, and the Greek is as follows: τοῖς δέ, καίπερ τοσαύτη εὐλαβείᾳ παρασκευασμένοις τὸ πρᾶγμα, οὐ μέντοι κατ' ἐλπίδα ἀπέβη.

2. The night grew dark and misty as the enemy could wish; and about three in the morning the whole body of the horse passed with great silence between the armies, and within pistol-shot of the cottage, without so much as one musket discharged at them.

'As the enemy could wish' is a phrase that requires care: it might be done literally, ὥσπερ ἂν ἐβούλοντο, or ὡς βουλομένοις ἂν ᾔην, but it would sound a little artificial in Greek: perhaps the best way is once more to be severely business-like, and say something of this sort:—'The night was very favourable to the enemy, being dark,' etc.: or even simpler, 'To the enemy the night by good luck was dark,' etc. 'By good luck' is idiomatically turned by θείᾳ τινὶ τύχῃ: for 'misty' we may say 'with mists,' and then the Greek will be: τοῖς γὰρ πολεμίοις θείᾳ δὴ τύχῃ σκοτεινῆς γενομένης μετὰ νεφελῶν τῆς νυκτός . . .

In the rest of the sentence the greatest catch lies in the last words, 'without so much as one musket discharged at them': for here we have, as so often happens in English, a *fact*—namely, that the enemy did not fire at them—related not directly but indirectly. In Greek we must be direct, and say 'they did not even fire one shot at them.' The order also can be improved for the sake of clearness: as

thus—'those in the cottage not firing, etc., although they passed close,' etc. As to the phrasing: 'about three in the morning' will be 'a little before dawn': 'within pistol-shot' might be the idiomatic ἐντὸς τοξεύματος, or, more simply, 'at a short distance,' δι' ὀλίγου, διὰ βραχείας: 'musket' will be βέλος or τόξευμα.

The whole clause is then: ὀλίγον πρὸ ἡμέρας ἢ ἵππος πολλῇ σιγῇ μεταξὺ τῶν στρατοπέδων διεχώρει, ἅμα οὐδὲ ἐν βέλος ἀφιέντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐκ τῆς κώμης καίπερ διὰ βραχυτάτου παριόντας.

Note the phrases πολλῇ σιγῇ: στρατόπεδον for an 'army' when resting in its position: and the pregnant τῶν ἐκ τῆς κώμης.

3. At the break of day, the horse were discovered marching over the heath beyond the reach of the foot; and there was only at hand the Earl of Cleveland's brigade, the body of the king's horse being at a greater distance.

As to structure: these two clauses are both so simple and concrete that we might do them literally, and say for 'discovered' δῆλος or φανερός, and for 'was at hand' παρήσαν, or, better, ὑπήρχον. But in truth, as so often happens, the connection of thought is really *personal*, and the actual thoughts conveyed are these: 'they saw the horse, etc. . . . and their foot could not reach them . . . and they had no cavalry to catch them with, except,' etc. Whichever method we choose of doing the sentence, there is no doubt we must make far clearer than the English does (in the last clause) that there is an antithesis between the *foot* which could not reach them, and the *cavalry* of which (for reasons given) they had none, except only the brigade mentioned.

As to the phrasing:—'At break of day' is ἅμα ἔφω, or περὶ δὲ τὴν ἔω: 'beyond the reach of' is simplest 'so that they could not reach': for the 'Earl's brigade' we may use the common οἱ περὶ τόν . . .

We shall then have: (1) περὶ δὲ τὴν ἔω δῆλος ἦν ἡ

ἵππος διὰ πεδίου ἤδη προχωροῦσα ὥστε μηδὲ ἐφικέσθαι τὸν πεζόν· οὐδὲ ἰππεῖς ὑπῆρχον εἰ μὴ οἱ περὶ τὸν Κληφόν, διὰ πλείονος ἀπόντων τῶν πολλῶν: or, if we do it the more personal way, (2) ἅμα δὲ ἔφ' εἶδον τὴν ἐκείνων ἵππον, διὰ πεδίου ἤδη προχωροῦσαν, etc. . . . ἰππέας γὰρ αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἶχον εἰ μὴ τοὺς περὶ, etc.

Note in (2) the elliptic γὰρ: 'the foot could not follow: [I don't say cavalry] for they had none,' etc.

That brigade, to which some other troops which had taken the alarm joined, followed them in the rear; and killed some, and took more prisoners: but stronger parties of the enemy frequently turning upon them, and the whole body often making a stand, they were often compelled to retire; yet followed in that manner, that they killed and took about a hundred; which was the greatest damage they sustained in their whole march.

The style here is eminently Thucydidean, the clauses being connected in the most primitive and simple manner, without any attempt at working up or artificial linking, and simply aiming at a brief and clear narrative. The only structural changes I should suggest are to say 'following killed' for 'followed and killed'; and, further, to connect 'compelled' and 'followed,' which are directly antithetic, by μέν and δέ. Neither is there much difficulty in the phrasing: 'stronger parties of the enemy' will perhaps lead the beginner into clumsiness: we had better say 'the enemy with strong force.' 'The greatest damage,' in the last line, may be done verbatim: but it is worth while to note that the Greeks often use the *negative* in such a case: they say simply 'suffered nothing worse,' οὐδὲν κάκιον.

Sentence 4 will then run as follows in Greek: οὗτοι οὖν μετ' ἄλλων τινῶν οἱ δέισαντες προσεχώρησαν ἐκείνους διώκοντες τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν πλείους δὲ εἶλον· τῶν δὲ πολεμίων πολλάκις ἰσχυρᾷ δυνάμει ἐπιστρεφόντων, ἔστιν δ' ὅτε συμπάντων ἀντιτασσομένων, τότε μὲν ἠναγκάζοντο

ἀεὶ ὑποχωρεῖν, ὕστερον δὲ ὅμως πως ἐδίωκον, ὥστε ἑκατὸν μάλιστα ἐγένοντο οἱ ἀλόντες τε καὶ ἀποθανόντες· οὐδὲ ἄλλο κάκιον οὐδὲν ἔπαθον ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ.

Notice the phrases *προσχωρεῖν*, 'to join'; *ἔστιν ὅτε*, 'at times'; *ἐγένοντο*, 'amounted to.'

5. The notice and orders came to Goring when he was in one of his jovial exercises; which he received with mirth, and slighting those who sent them, as men who took alarms too warmly; and he continued his delights till all the enemy's horse were passed through his quarters; nor did then pursue them in any time.

The first thing to observe is, that the real subject of all this is Goring. Accordingly, we have to arrange the sentence round Goring as a centre; and the question we have to ask ourselves is, What is the first act that Goring does here? for that is the verb to make the principal verb: it is obviously, 'he received with mirth.' The general structure will then be: 'Goring, when the message, etc., came, since he was making merry . . . slighted and ridiculed them; nor did he cease,' etc.

In the phrasing: the abstract 'notice' may be the concrete 'messenger.' 'Orders,' again, is a little too allusive: a Greek would say most likely what the orders were, especially as we have nowhere heard, in so many words, what they were about, and have to infer that he received an order *to pursue*. 'One of his jovial exercises' is very vernacular: it implies two things, viz., that he was enjoying himself, and that he was in the *habit* of enjoying himself. It will all be done quite briefly and clearly if we say 'he chanced to be enjoying himself as usual.' 'Mirth' and 'slighting' may be *καταγελᾶν*, *καταφρονεῖν*, *ὀλιγωρεῖν*. The last clause is again rather a catch for the unwary; it also implies two things: first, that he did at last pursue, and that when he did pursue he was too late. We must make both clear.

Sentence 5 will then run: ὁ δὲ Γωρύων, ἀγγέλου περὶ τούτων ἤκοντος ὡς βοηθεῖν δεῖ, ἐπεὶ εὐφραινόμενος ἔτυχε κατὰ τὸ εἰωθός, καταγελῶν δὴ ὀλιγώρει τῶν πεμψάντων, ὡς θᾶσσον δεδιότων· οὐδὲ ἡδόμενος [οἱ τῆς εὐωχίας, οἱ τῆς παιδιᾶς] ἐπαύσατο πρὶν οἱ ἐκείνων ἵππεῖς πάντες παρῆλθον· ὥστε τέλος διώκων οὐκέτι δὴ κατέλαβεν.

Note *πρὶν* with the indicative, regularly after negatives when both verbs are *παρταίνε*. Note also the dramatic particles.

VIII.—CHARLES.

1. THE next day, in the afternoon, the king, attended only by his own guard, and some few gentlemen who put themselves into their company in the way, came to the house of commons; and commanding all his attendants to wait at the door, and to give offence to no man, himself, with his nephew, the prince elector, went into the house, to the great amazement of all. 2. The speaker leaving the chair, the king went into it; and told the house, 'he was sorry for that occasion of coming to them; that yesterday he had sent a sergeant-at-arms to apprehend some that, by his command, were accused of high treason; whereunto he expected obedience, but instead thereof he had received a message. 3. He declared to them, that no king of England had been ever, or should be, more careful to maintain their privileges, than he would be; but that in cases of treason no man had privilege; and therefore he came to see if any of those persons whom he had accused were there. 4. For he was resolved to have them, wheresoever he should find them.' Then looking about, and asking the speaker whether they were in the house, and he making no answer, he said, 'he perceived the birds were all flown, but expected they should be sent to him as soon as they returned thither; and assured them in the word of a king, that he never intended any force, but would proceed against them in a fair and legal way:' and so returned to Whitehall.

1. The next day in the afternoon, the king, attended only by his own guard, and some few gentlemen who put themselves into their company in the way, came to the house of commons; and commanding all his attendants to wait at the door, and to give offence to no man, himself, with his nephew, the prince elector, went into the house, to the great amazement of them all.

The main structure is absolutely simple, and offers no difficulty, except the very last clause: for, as the last action is 'went into the house,' the 'amazement' really describes not what *the king did*, but what the *effect of his action* was on the others. It is better, therefore, to reserve this for the next sentence. 'Attended' will be active, genitive absolute, 'the guard attending.' The 'house of commons' is ἐκκλησία. 'Give offence' is λυπεῖν, or [μηδέν] ἀηδές, or λυπηρὸν δρᾶσαι. 'The prince elector' is merely a title, and of course has nothing at all corresponding to it in Greek: it is a matter of taste whether we insert some Greek word suggesting a foreign title, like σατράπας, or whether we omit it altogether: as the passage is written for the sake of style, and not for the instruction of Greek readers, I should prefer to omit it. In any case it is a minor question.

τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία μετὰ μεσημβρίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς, οὐδενὸς ἐπομένου πλὴν τῶν φυλάκων ἢ εἴ τις ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ συνεγένετο, ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἦλθεν· εἰπὼν δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔξω περιμεῖναι, μηδὲ ἀηδές μηδὲν δρᾶν μηδενί, αὐτὸς μετὰ τοῦ υἱδοῦς ἐσῆει· πάντων δὲ θαυμαζόντων, etc.

Note the common idiom εἴ τις ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, etc., for 'some few who met,' etc. Also the repeated negatives, μηδὲ . . . μηδέν . . . μηδενί.

2. The speaker leaving the chair, the king went into it; and told the house, 'he was sorry for that occasion of coming to them; that yesterday he had sent a sergeant-at-arms to apprehend some that, by his command, were accused of high treason; whereunto he had expected obedience, but instead thereof he had received a message.'

The king is obviously the main subject all through this

piece, and indeed to the end of the whole passage; accordingly, the first clause must be made subordinate, with genitive absolute or conjunction. The chief difficulty is in the last two clauses, where the sneer conveyed in the antithesis between the words 'expected obedience' and 'received a message' must be rather more clearly brought out in the Greek. It will be enough if we say 'So far from obeying, they had ventured to reply.' Another slight difficulty is in the phrase, 'sorry for that occasion of coming to them': if we translate it literally, we somehow lose the force: the reason is that the king means mildly to rebuke them, by saying that he did not want to come to them, but he was forced; and this must be brought out. 'The chair' may be the 'platform,' βῆμα. 'Sergeant-at-arms' may be ὑπηρέτης. 'High treason' is perhaps ἐπιβουλεύειν. In the rest there is nothing to stop us.

The whole will then be: ἐπεὶ ὁ ἐπιστάτης παρεχώρησεν αὐτῷ τοῦ βήματος, ἀναβὰς ἐκείνος οὐκ ἂν ἔφη βούλεσθαι οὕτω παρελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκην εἶναι, ἐπεὶ τῇ μὲν προτεραία ἄγγελον ἐπεμψεν ὥστε τῶν ἐκείθεν τινὰς ξυλλαβεῖν, οὓς αὐτὸς ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἤτιᾶτο· τοὺς δὲ οὐχ ὅτι πιθέσθαι, ὥστερ ἡξίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντειπεῖν τι τολμήσαι.

Note (1) the technical word ἐπιστάτης, president of the ἐκκλησία;—(2) the order of οὐκ ἂν ἔφη βούλεσθαι;—(3) the phrase οὐχ ὅτι for 'so far from';—(4) the tenses of the words ἤτιᾶτο, ἡξίου.

3. 'He declared to them, that no king of England had been ever, or should be, more careful to maintain their privileges, than he would be; but that in cases of treason no man had privileges; and therefore he came to see if any of those persons whom he had accused were there.'

The clearness of this sentence is much improved if we put the important word 'privileges' well to the front: 'as to their privileges, no man,' etc. The abstract 'in cases of treason' must of course be made personal, 'to persons plotting' The

rest of the points only concern wording and arrangement, and there is nothing special to note.

The Greek will be something of this sort: καὶ γὰρ ὅσα μὲν γέρα ἔχουσιν, οὐδὲνα ἑαυτοῦ οὔτε τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων ἐπιμελέστερον φυλάσσειν, οὔτε τῶν ἔπειτα μέλλειν. ἐπιβουλεύουσι δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπάρχειν τοιοῦτον. ὥστε ζητήσων ἦκειν οἷς ἐνεκάλει εἴ τις πάρεστιν.

Note the convenient τοιοῦτον, to save repetition.

4. 'For he was resolved to have them, wherever he should find them.' Then looking about, and asking the speaker whether they were in the house, and he making no answer, he said, 'he perceived the birds were all flown, but expected they should be sent to him as soon as they returned thither; and assured them in the word of a king, that he never intended any force, but would proceed against them in a fair and legal manner;' and so returned to Whitehall.

In the first clause it is a little more idiomatic to put the relative section, 'wherever he should find them,' first, as so often is the case. In the next sentence, the proverbial phrase, 'the birds flown,' must of course be done simply, 'all gone.' 'Expected they should be sent' is a good example of one of those minor differences of idiom which make such an important difference to the goodness or badness of composition. The point is this: in English, after a verb of *ordering*, we generally use the *passive* construction: 'bade the house be pulled down,' 'ordered the gold to be taken away'; or, as here, 'expected the men to be sent': in Greek, the construction is nearly always *active*: the servant or official who does the actual deed, being unimportant, is omitted in both languages: but the Greeks say, 'bade pull down the house': 'ordered to take away the gold': 'expected to send to him.' 'On the word of a king,' being an idiom, turn it any convenient way: 'with a royal oath,' 'as being a king,' or, better, 'if a king was to be believed,' which gives the meaning most fully and clearly. 'Any force' will be adjective, *βίαιον*; 'fair and

legal way' will be naturally adverbs. Lastly, 'Whitehall' may be simply 'homewards,' οἶκαδε.

The whole will then be: ὅπου γὰρ ἂν εὖρη ξυλλαβεῖν βεβουλεῦσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ εἰπὼν καὶ ἅμα περιβλέψας τὸν ἐπιστάτην ἐπήρετο εἰ πάρεσιν· σιωπῶντος δὲ τούτου ἡσθήσθαι ἔφη πάντας οἰχομένους, ἀξιοῦν δὲ ἐπειδὰν ἤκωσι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν πέμψαι· ἀπομνύναι γάρ, εἰ βασιλεῖ δεῖ πιστεύειν, μηδὲν βίαιον μηδέποτε βουλεῦσαι, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἐννόμως καὶ δικαίως πράξειν. τοσαῦτα δὲ λέξας οἶκαδε ἀπήλθεν.

Note ἀπομνύναι, 'to swear a negative.'

IX.—DANEIOS.

1. Daneios, finding that his majesty was much depressed by the results of the engagement, and fancying he was making quiet preparations for a stealthy departure, reflected on the fatal consequences to himself, as the adviser of the war, if they returned after such a failure. 2. After much deliberation, the best course appeared at last to be, as often happens, the most enterprising. 3. Accordingly he repaired to the king, and after earnestly imploring him to moderate his excessive grief, and not to despair of finding some solution of their difficulties, he reminded him that though they had before had serious reverses, they had never been ultimately disappointed of their aims. 4. It was not, he said, a matter for such deep dejection, that they had suffered the loss of a few timbers. There was abundant forest close to the shore, to build another fleet double the first, if need be. 5. Moreover the hill tribes, who had before repudiated their rule, had suffered for their rebellion, just as the present victorious rebels would doubtless one day rue their audacity. 6. His majesty could take his choice. If he preferred to remain, there was no need of fear: if it seemed safer to return, and leave him, Daneios, to finish the work the king had begun, there was no obstacle to such a course. 7. The Phthiotes could not escape the impending penalty of disobedience: it must end in submission to a harder yoke than ever. Failure had now taught caution: and caution would insure victory.

1. Daneios, finding that his majesty was much depressed by the results of the engagement, and fancying that he was making quiet preparations for a stealthy departure, reflected on the fatal consequences to himself, as the adviser of the war, if they returned after such a failure.

Nothing to alter in the general build of the sentence: both the order and the directness of the narrative are quite Greek. In the phrasing, on the other hand, there are several points. 'His majesty' is, of course, 'the king.' 'The results of the engagement' is an English euphemism—a form of artificial expression that is commoner than is sometimes supposed. The writer means, of course, the *bad* results: and this must be expressed in the simpler Greek. It will be enough to say 'defeat.' 'Preparations' and 'departure' are abstracts easily turned. 'The fatal consequences to himself,' rather pompous for Greek: say merely 'what he shall suffer.' 'Adviser' is best as a participle.

The whole will be: ὁ δὲ Δανείος γνοὺς τὸν βασιλέα τῇ ἡσση σφόδρα ἀθυμοῦντα, καὶ ὑποπτεύων μὴ κρυφῇ ἄρα παρασκευάζεται ὥστε λαθεῖν ἀπελθών, ἐνεθυμείτο δὴ οἷα αὐτὸς πείσεται ὡς πολεμεῖν κελεύσας ἢν τοσοῦτο σφαλ-
έντες κατέλθωσιν.

Note (1) the construction of indicative after ὑποπτεύων, idiomatic when the suspicion is of a *fact supposed to be going on at the time*;—(2) dramatic particles ἄρα and δὴ;—(3) κελεύω of the *adviser*, not necessarily of the one in authority;—(4) κατελθεῖν, idiomatic of going home by sea: as is evidently the case, from the mention below of ships.

2. After much deliberation, the best course appeared at last to be, as often happens, the most enterprising.

The sentence will be personal, I need hardly say; but the real difficulty is in the words 'the most enterprising.' The English is rather abstract and allusive: he does not tell us *what* the enterprise was. We must either *interpret* it, and say 'once more to risk a battle,' or, if this seems to add rather too much to the original, as indeed it perhaps does,

it will suffice to say, less abstractly than the English, but still rather vaguely, 'to try the bolder course.'

πολλὰ οὖν βουλευσάμενος ἄριστον ᾤετο εἶναι (ὡς πολλάκις δὴ γίγνεται) ἐς τὸ τολμηρότερον τραπέσθαι.

Note δὲ, in a reference to general truths; also the convenient *τραπέσθαι*.

3. Accordingly he repaired to the king, and after earnestly imploring him to moderate his excessive grief, and not to despair of finding some solution of their difficulties, he reminded him that though they had before had serious reverses, they had never been ultimately disappointed of their aims.

Again the style is a little verbose and abstract, but the order and the thoughts are substantially plain and natural in Greek: the piece wants very little recasting. 'Moderating his excessive grief' is merely 'not to grieve too much.' 'Not to despair,' etc., is rather a lengthy and wordy expression: but by the use of the phrase *ἀνέλπιστος ἀπορία*, we can shorten and simplify a good deal; so again, 'never been ultimately disappointed' can be put more briefly, 'always at last gained.' 'Aims' is best done by a relative: 'what they aimed at.'

The Greek will then be: ἐλθὼν τοίνυν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἡξίου μὴ λίαν δυσχεραίνειν ὥς οὐπω ἐς ἀνέλπιστον ἀπορίαν καταστάντα· πολλὰ γὰρ ἤδη ἡσσηθέντες ἀεὶ τελευτῶντες ὧν ἐφλέντο τυχεῖν.

Note (1) the convenient word *καταστάς*, used of getting into any station, place, condition, state, etc.;—(2) the nominative with infinitive, of the subject, *ἡσσηθέντες* . . . *τυχεῖν*.

4. It was not, he said, a matter for such deep dejection, that they had suffered the loss of a few timbers. There was abundant forest close to the shore, to build another fleet double the first, if need be.

'That they had suffered': use the regular Greek idiom after nouns or verbs of emotion—like 'deep dejection'—to put 'if,' not 'that.' 'There was no need to despair if . . . ' As

to the next clause, it may be treated as in the English: but I have thought it rather more convenient to tack it on to the other, as it gives the *reason* why there was no need to be dejected. In phrasing, use for 'dejection' words for 'hopeless' or 'dispirited,' *δύσελπις*, *ἀθυμείν*, *ἐλπίδα ἀποβαλεῖν*. 'Timbers,' *ξύλα*, often contemptuously applied to ships: 'shore' may be *αἰγιαλός*, but is usually either 'sea,' *θάλασσα*, or, 'land,' *γῆ*, according as we are speaking from the point of view of the land or sea respectively. 'Double the first' may be literal, *διπλάσια τῶν προτέρων*, or it may be still simpler, *δὺς τοσαῦτα*.

The sentence will then be: *οὐδὲ ἐλπίδα δεῖν ἀποβαλεῖν εἰ ξύλα τινὰ διέφθαρται, ὥς ἀφθόνου ὕλης παρὰ τῇ θαλάσῃ ὑπαρχούσης, ἣν καὶ δὺς τοσαύτας ναῦς δέη ποιέεισθαι*.

Note middle *ποιέεισθαι* of making ships.

5. Moreover the hill tribes, who had before repudiated their rule, had suffered for their rebellion, just as the present victorious rebels would doubtless one day rue their audacity.

The arrangement of the thoughts is here very artificial in the English: the case to be proved is that of the *present rebels*, and the comparison adduced to prove it is that of the *hill tribes*: but in the English it looks at first sight as if it were the other way up. In doing it into Greek we must revert to the natural order, and say, 'as the hill tribes had,' etc., 'so the present rebels,' etc. 'Repudiated their rule' is a phrase which belongs to the style of all this passage, and is merely a rather verbose equivalent of 'rebel,' to save repetition: but the more business-like Greek is not afraid of repetition, when it is wanted for the sense.

There is no further difficulty, and the Greek will be: *καὶ ὥσπερ οἱ ἐκ τῶν ὄρων πρότερον ἀποστάντες δίκην ἤδη ἔδοσαν, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς νῦν ἀφεστῶτας καὶ κρατοῦντας τὴν τόλμαν ἔτι μεταγνώσεσθαι*.

6. His majesty could take his choice. If he preferred to remain, there was no need of fear: if it seemed safer to return, and leave him, Daneios, to finish the work the king had begun, there was no obstacle to such a course.

This passage also might doubtless be done literally: but it seems to me a little better to make it all up into one sentence, and say: 'The king might choose . . . since, if he thought fit to . . . there was no danger . . . if he preferred . . . nothing would hinder.' The only difficulty is to arrange the words so as to avoid the need for too many pronouns; and a little care will do that.

The Greek will be: ἐλέσθαι οὖν ἐξεῖναι, ὥς ἐὰν μὲν δοκῇ μένοντα ἐπιχειρῆσαι, οὐδὲν δέον φοβεῖσθαι, εἰ δὲ ἀσφαλείας ἔνεκα κατελθὼν βούλοιτο ἑαυτῷ ἐπιτρέπειν τὸ πρᾶγμα ὥστε ἀντὶ ἐκείνου ἐκτελέσαι, οὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν ἐσόμενον.

Observe the *accusative* absolute, with the neuter and impersonal words δέον and ἐσόμενον.

7. The Phthiotēs could not escape the impending penalty of disobedience: it must end in submission to a harder yoke than ever. Failure had taught caution: and caution would insure victory.

'Disobedience,' 'submission,' 'yoke' must all be made personal: there will then be no difficulty in the first half of the sentence. The epigram with which the piece concludes is not hard if we interpret it, perhaps somewhat as follows:—'owing to their failure, they would be more cautious, so as to more certainly conquer.'

We shall then have finally: οὐ γὰρ φευξείσθαι τοὺς Φθιώτας μὴ οὐ δίκην δοῦναι ὧν ἠπείθουν, ἀλλὰ ὑποχειρίους γενομένους ἔτι δεινότερα πείσεσθαι τῶν πρότερον. αὐτοὶ γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἡσσαν εὐλαβέστερον ἂν ἐπεχειρήσαι ὥστε σαφέστατα δὴ νικήσειν.

Note (1) μὴ οὐ epexegetic, after *privative* word φευξείσθαι when further negated with οὐ;—(2) νικήσειν infinitive of *Oratio Obliqua*, not due to ὥστε. If it had been due to ὥστε it would not have been future.

X — EXETER.

1. Conspiracies against Henry usually met with ill-luck. Exeter had traitors among his domestic servants, who had repeatedly warned the council that all was not right, and that some secret movement was preparing. 2. At length the information became precise. They reported that two Cornish gentlemen had for some time past been quietly engaging men, who were to rise at a given signal. They were then to assemble in arms, and declare Exeter heir-apparent to the throne. 3. Henry would not act against so high a noble without clearer evidence. But he despatched privately two of his attendants into Cornwall to make inquiries, directing them to represent themselves as being merely on a visit to their friends, and to do their best to discover the truth. 4. The result was an entire confirmation of the story. It was found that for several years a project had been on foot for a movement in favour of Exeter. 5. The truth was still further established by a coincidence. At the same time as Henry's messengers were reporting, a man was arrested on suspicion of being an agent of the Catholics. He was to be taken to London, and, according to the usual mode of conveyance, he was placed on horse-back, with his feet tied under the horse's belly. On the road it so happened he was met and recognised by one of the conspirators, who, fearing all was about to be discovered, took time by the forelock, and told the whole story to the authorities himself.

1. Conspiracies against Henry usually met with ill-luck. Exeter had traitors among his domestic servants, who had repeatedly warned the council that all was not right, and that some secret movement was preparing.

The very first sentence offers a difficulty; for to open with a generalisation, of which the story that follows is an example, is a thoroughly modern artifice, and not the least like the straightforward style of Greek prose. We can, however, here get over the difficulty by employing a turn which is very common in Greek, and just gives the general sense: namely, to say '*both the others* who conspired against the king were unlucky, *and especially* Exeter,' οἱ τε ἄλλοι . . . καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα. . . . In the next clause we must obviously make *the servants* the subject; and the real *act*—'repeatedly warned'—which the sentence tells us of, will naturally be the principal verb. 'All was not right' is idiomatic: perhaps it will be enough to say 'bade them be on their guard.' For 'movement,' say 'treachery' or 'plot.'

The Greek will then run: ἐδυστύχησαν μὲν οὖν οἱ τε ἄλλοι ὅσοι τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπεβούλευον, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὁ Ἐξέτηρος. τοῦτον γὰρ προδιδόντες τινὲς τῶν οἰκετῶν πολλὰ ἤδη ἠγγελλον τῇ βουλῇ ὅτι φυλάσσεσθαι δεῖ, ὡς δόλου τινὸς παρασκευαζομένου.

2. At length the information became precise. They reported that two Cornish gentlemen had for some time past been quietly engaging men who were to rise at a given signal. They were then to assemble in arms and declare Exeter heir-apparent to the throne.

Again the opening curt clause is unidiomatic in Greek. It is best to tack it on to what follows somewhat in this way: 'They reported more precisely that,' etc. The last clause, 'They were then to assemble,' etc., as being part of the arrangement, it is also best to join on. As to the

phrases: 'gentlemen,' if there is emphasis on the class-distinction, may be ἱππεῖς: if no such emphasis, ἄνδρες is enough. Here we may take our choice. 'Engaging' here is not in its common sense of 'hiring,' but simply means 'persuading,' πείθειν. 'Heir-apparent' is διάδοχος τῆς ἀρχῆς.

The whole is then: τέλος δὲ σαφέστερόν τι ἐμήνυσαν, ὡς ἱππεῖς δύο Θετταλοὶ πάλαι ἄνδρας τινὰς λανθάνουσι πείθοντες, ἐπειδὰν καιρὸς γένηται, ἐπαναστῆναι, καὶ μεθ' ὅπλων συνελθόντας πᾶσι προειπεῖν τὸν Ἐξέτηρον δεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ διάδοχον γενέσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς.

3. Henry would not act against so high a noble without clearer evidence. But he despatched privately two of his attendants into Cornwall to make inquiries, directing them to represent themselves as being merely on a visit to their friends, and to do their best to discover the truth.

There is here in the sense, though after the common English fashion slightly concealed, an antithesis between what he *did privately* and what he was reluctant to do *openly*. This in the Greek should appear more plainly; φανερώς μὲν . . . οὐκ ἤθελεν. Again, 'act' is suggestive rather than clear: express the full meaning in Greek, and say 'use violence.' 'On a visit' is only 'come to.'

We shall then have: ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς φανερώς μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἄνδρα οὐδὲν ἤθελε βίαιον δρᾶσαι, ὡς οὐπω πιστὰ ἔχων τεκμήρια· λάθρα δὲ ὑγερῆτα δύο ἐκείσε ἔπεμψε πεισομένω περὶ τοῦ πράγματος, κελεύσας παρὰ φίλους φάσκειν ἤκειν, ὥστε πάσῃ τέχνῃ ἐξευρεῖν τὰληθές:

Note (1) the position of φάσκειν, *shuffled* into the sentence as usual; —(2) that φάσκειν and φάσκων are commoner (in Thucydides' time) than φάναι and φάς; —(3) πάσῃ τέχνῃ, idiomatic for 'by all means.'

4. The result was an entire confirmation of the story. It was found that for several years a project had been on foot for a movement in favour of Exeter.

First clause personal: 'the messengers reported the same as the others, that,' etc. It is by this time hardly necessary to explain how such common abstracts as 'project,' 'on foot,' 'movement' are to be done. 'In favour of' offers perhaps more difficulty: we might say, rather vaguely and generally, 'to promote the cause of Exeter': or more precisely, and perhaps better, 'that Exeter might claim the government.' 'Promote the cause' would be *τὰ ἐκείνου σπεύδειν*. 'Claim' would be *ἀντιποιεῖσθαι*.

We shall then have: *οἱ δὲ ἐξελέξαντες παραπλησία ἐκείνοις ἡγγειλαν, πολλὰ ἤδη ἔτη στάσιν τινὰς παρασκευάζειν, ὥστε ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸν Ἐξέτηρον*.

5. The truth was still further established by a coincidence. At the same time as Henry's messengers were reporting, a man was arrested on suspicion of being an agent of the Catholics. He was taken to London, and, according to the usual mode of conveyance, was placed on horseback with his feet tied under the horse's belly. On the road it so happened that he was met and recognised by one of the conspirators, who, fearing all was about to be discovered, took time by the forelock, and told the whole story to the authorities himself.

The first idiomatic clause must again be made plain narrative: as thus, 'The following thing also happened so that they believed still more.' Only it would make the whole a little more correct and lucid if we began with 'While they were reporting this.' We thus shall start fair with our story. 'On suspicion' is *ὥς*. 'Catholics' offers some difficulty, as there is nothing the least corresponding to it in Greek: under these circumstances it is perhaps best to say 'enemies,' or 'those in France,' or, simply and very conveniently, 'those

thence,' or even 'those across the sea.' 'Usual mode of conveyance' may be much shortened: 'under the horse's belly' may be simply 'beneath.' In the last clause it will be obviously better to make the conspirator the subject all through. 'Took time by the forelock' is done briefly by the word *φθάνω*.

We then turn the whole sentence as follows: ἅμα δὲ ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα ἐδήλουν κατὰ τύχην τοιόνδε τι ἐγένετο ὥστε καὶ μᾶλλον πιστεύειν. ἀλὺς γὰρ δὴ τις ὡς ἄγγελος ὦν παρὰ τῶν πέραν, ἐπεὶ ἐς πόλιν ἔδει κομίζειν, ἐφ' ἵππῳ κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς καθήμενος, δεδεμένων κάτωθεν τῶν ποδῶν, οὕτω δὴ ἀπήγετο. ἐν δὲ τῇ ὁδῷ τῶν ξυνωμοτῶν τις ἐντυχὼν ἀνέγνω τὸν ἄνδρα. καὶ δεδιὼς μὴ κατάδηλοι μέλλουσι γενέσθαι, φθάσας πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας αὐτοὺς τὰ πάντα ἐμήνυσεν.

Note (1) the actives *πιστεύειν* and *κομίζειν* with subjects unexpressed but readily supplied;—(2) *οὕτω δὴ* after circumstances fully explained;—(3) *μὴ* with indicative;—(4) the pregnant use of *πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας*, implying 'went' to the archons.

XI.—*PLANCIUS*—(CICERO).

1. You quote the triumphs of Marius and Didius, and ask me what distinctions of the kind Plancius has won: as if in truth those whom you speak of had been elected to magistracies because they had triumphed, and not rather earned their triumphs because they had conducted themselves well in the offices to which they had been appointed. 2. You ask me what service he has seen: though he has been a soldier in Crete, a tribune in Macedonia; and though, when he was general, he only spared from his military duties so much time as he thought better to devote to the protection of my person. 3. You ask me whether he is an eloquent pleader: I reply, no; but he is the next best thing to that, namely, he does not even himself claim to be one: is he a skilled lawyer? as if there were anybody who could allege that my client had ever given him bad legal advice. 4. Those accomplishments are only matter for reproach in those cases where men have made professions which they cannot fulfil, not in the case of those who admit that they have never given their attention to such studies. 5. What is required in a candidate is worth, straightforwardness, integrity of character, not fluency of tongue, accomplishments, or special knowledge. 6. In buying slaves, if we

are purchasing a carpenter or weaver, we object to one however honest, if he does not possess the accomplishments for which we bought him. But if we buy a man to be a steward or shepherd, we care for nothing but honesty, industry, and carefulness. 7. So Rome chooses her magistrates to be stewards of the state: if they have any accomplishments besides, she is quite willing it should be so: but if not, she is satisfied that they should be men of worth and high character.

1. You quote the triumphs of Marius and Didius, and ask me what distinctions of the kind Plancius has won: as if in truth those whom you speak of had been elected to magistracies because they had triumphed, and not rather earned their triumphs because they had conducted themselves well in the offices to which they had been appointed.

In the first clause, 'quote' and 'ask,' being connected, must be turned into participle and verb: 'triumphs' and 'distinctions' will be both verbs — 'how he triumphed,' 'when he was distinguished.' The rest of the first sentence is plain enough: we only need to remember that 'and not rather' in Greek is generally '*but* not rather.' 'As if' may be either *ὥσπερ* with the genitive absolute, or *ὥσπερ* *εἰ* with a finite verb.

We shall then have: *Εἵτα δὲ τὸν Μάριον καὶ τὸν Δίδιον ὡς ἐπόμπευον διεξιὼν, οὕτωσι πότε ἐτιμήθη ἐρωτᾶς, ὥσπερ εἰ ἐκεῖνοι διὰ τὰς πομπὰς ἤρξαν, ἀλλ' οὐ μᾶλλον ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἂν ἐπετρέποντο εὐ πράξαντες οὕτω δὴ ἐπόμπευσαν.*

Notice (1) *ἤρξαν*, simple Greek for 'were elected to magistracies,' aorist giving the act of becoming officials (ingressive aorist);—(2) accusative after *ἐπιτρέπομαι*, 'to be intrusted with a thing': idiomatic use;—(3) *οὕτω* δὴ, idiomatic after participles giving the circumstances.

2. You ask me what service he has seen : though he has been a soldier in Crete, a tribune in Macedonia ; and though, when he was general, he only spared from his military duties so much time as he thought better to devote to the protection of my person.

‘Service,’ of course, must be a verb : ‘when and where he has served.’ The rest of the sentence involves a rather catchy point of idiom, namely, that the English ‘though’ is used where in Greek it would not do at all. In Greek the nearest thing to ‘though’ is the idiomatic use of *ὅστις*, ‘a man who . . .’ For ‘tribune’ we had better, perhaps, use the Greek word *λοχαγός*. For ‘spared from his military duties,’ say ‘absented himself from service.’ In the last clause, there is a point of the real fact omitted, namely, that in order to protect Cicero *he had to be at Rome* : and so we had better say, ‘when he thought it needful to be at Rome in order to protect me.’

The Greek will then be : *εἶτα δὲ ἐρωτᾷς ποῦ καὶ πότε ἐστράτευεν ὅστις ἐν μὲν Κρήτῃ ὀπλίτης ἦν, ἐν δὲ Μακεδονίᾳ λοχαγός, ἐπεὶ δὲ στρατηγὸς ἐγένετο οὐδέποτε τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπέλειπεν, εἰ μὴ ὅσον ἐπιδημεῖν ᾤετο δεῖν ὥστε ἐμοὶ βοηθεῖν.*

Note that the idea ‘only was absent so long as’ is more sharply given by a negative turn : ‘never left except so long.’

3. You ask me whether he is an eloquent pleader : I reply, no ; but he is the next best thing to that, namely, he does not even himself claim to be one : is he a skilled lawyer ? as if there were anybody who could allege that my client had ever given him bad legal advice.

This time we might begin with a direct question : to repeat ‘you ask me whether’ each time would in Greek be perhaps rather wearisome. ‘An eloquent pleader’ is *δεινὸς λέγειν*. ‘The next best thing to that’ would be best done by a rela-

tive: ὅπερ δεύτερόν ἐστιν, or, better, ὅπερ μετ' ἐκείνῳ ἄριστον. 'A skilled lawyer' may be done quite simply by 'skilled in the laws,' τῶν νόμων ἔμπειρος. The last clause is rather tiresome for Greek if done literally, and we had better perhaps simply say, 'at any rate nobody could charge him,' etc.: οὐδεὶς γοῦν ἂν μέμφοιτο. 'Bad legal advice' is, according to the usual principle, 'advised badly about the laws.'

The Greek will then be: μὴν ἄρα δεινὸς λέγειν; ἤκιστα· ἀλλ' ὅπερ μετ' ἐκείνῳ ἄριστον, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀξιοῖ εἶναι. μὴν νόμων ἔμπειρος; οὐδεὶς γοῦν τουτῷ ἂν ἐπιτιμῶν ὡς κακῶς ποτε περὶ τῶν νόμων συμβουλευσάντι.

Note (1) ἤκιστα for 'no': the excitable Greek has numerous stronger words for 'yes' and 'no';—(2) the terseness given by not repeating the needless words, ἐστίν, δεινὸς λέγειν, ἦν.

4. Those accomplishments are only matter for reproach in those cases where men have made professions which they cannot fulfil, not in the case of those who admit that they have never given their attention to such studies.

The English here is distinctly confused; for it is not in either case the *accomplishments* which are matter for reproach, but in one case the *pretended possession* of them, and in the other the *absence* of them. We must therefore set this right in the Greek; and the simplest way of doing this is to say, 'these things are not to be blamed,' or 'no one would put such blame on a man who . . .' or 'blame for such things a man who . . .' 'Given their attention to such studies' is only rather stately English for 'learned these things.'

There is no further difficulty, and the Greek will be: ἀλλὰ μὴν τοιαῦτα ἐκείνοις εἰκότως ἂν τις μέμφοιτο, οἱ πολλὰ ὑποσχόμενοι οὐδὲν ἔπραξαν, οὐ τοῖς ὁμολογοῦσιν μῆπω ταῦτα μεμαθηκέναι.

5. What is required in a candidate is worth, straightforwardness, integrity of character, not fluency of tongue, accomplishments, or special knowledge.

Nothing here offers any real problem, except the now familiar point of what I may call the 'personalisation of the English': this clause, if so treated, will become something like this, 'Choosing a magistrate we must seek . . . just, good, and faithful . . . not fluent,' etc. And perhaps it will be more in accordance with the natural Greek turn of expression if we make the negative qualifications come first — 'not the fluent . . . but the honest . . .' The rest of the points turn entirely on questions of words. 'Honest' is in Greek *δίκαιος*, or *πιστός*: for 'good,' 'upright,' 'straightforward,' 'respectable,' there are many words in Greek, as in English: *ἀγαθός*, *σπουδαῖος*, *ἐπιεικής*, *καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός*, etc.

The whole will be:—*ἄρχοντα γὰρ αἰρουμένους οὔτε τὸν δεινὸν λέγειν δεῖ ζητεῖν οὔτε τὸν τέχνης ἢ ἐπιστήμης τινὸς ἔμπειρον, ἀλλ' εἴ τις σπουδαῖος καὶ πιστὸς καὶ δίκαιος ὦν τυγχάνει.*

Note the convenient *εἴ τις*, and the idiomatic *τυγχάνει*, so often occurring in Greek where there is no tendency in English to say 'happens': particularly as here, when the language is general, and we are speaking of *any specimen* of a class.

6. In buying slaves, if we are purchasing a carpenter or weaver, we object to one, however honest, if he does not possess the accomplishments for which we bought him. But if we buy a man to be a steward or shepherd, we care for nothing but honesty, industry, and carefulness.

The structure is quite easy: only minor points need be noticed. 'Object' is rather vague: it means something *more precise*, like 'we will not have,' 'we do not buy.' 'Accomplishments' is here the professional knowledge, and so must be *τέχνη*. 'For which we bought him:' it will

be sufficient to say ἥς δεῖ. Again, in the last sentence, 'we care for nothing but' is a little less precise than it would be in Greek: we should say 'all else is of no value compared with,' 'we count of highest importance to get.' Again, the qualities 'honesty, industry,' etc., will be done by adjectives.

The sentence will then be: οὕτω γὰρ δούλους ὠνούμενοι, ἐὰν μὲν τέκτονα ἢ ὑφαντὴν ζητῶμεν, οὐδὲ τὸν δικαίδοτατον ἀν πριαίμεθα, τῆς τέχνης ἥς δεῖ μὴ ἔμπειρον ὄντα· ἐὰν δὲ ποιμένα ἢ ταμίαν, τᾶλλα πάντα παρ' οὐδὲν ποιούμεθα πρὸς τὸ πιστὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἐπιμελῆ καὶ φιλόπονον κτήσασθαι.

Note: we say παρ' οὐδὲν ποιείσθαι, but περὶ πολλοῦ, περὶ πλείονος, περὶ πλείστου ποιείσθαι.

7. So Rome chooses her magistrates to be stewards of the state: if they have any accomplishments besides, she is quite willing it should be so: but if not, she is satisfied that they should be men of worth and high character.

This being rhetoric, we may use the abstract 'the city,' a thing which in narrative we should not do, but say 'the citizens.' In the rest there is hardly anything which we have not already had.

The last sentence will then run: ὡσαύτως δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἢ πόλιν αἰρεῖται ὥστε τοῦ κοινοῦ ταμίας εἶναι, καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἄλλην τινὰ ἐπιστήμην ἔχωσιν, ἀγαπᾶ, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ, ἀρκεῖ γοῦν ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ δικαίους αἰρεθῆναι.

Note (1) the particles ὡσαύτως, μὲν, δέ, and γοῦν;—(2) ὥστε, used, as it frequently is, of the *contemplated* consequence, and so almost *final*;—(3) the more idiomatic repetition in Greek of the main idea αἰρεθῆναι, where in English we say 'they should be,' meaning *the men who are chosen should be*.

XII—COBDEN—(BRIGHT).

1. I REMEMBER the time well. The sufferings throughout the country were fearful, and you who live now, but were not of an age to observe what was passing in the country then, can have no idea of the state of your country in that year. 2. At that time when he called upon me I was in the depths of grief, I might almost say despair; for the light and sunshine of my house had been extinguished. All that was left of my young wife, except the memory of a sainted life and of a too brief happiness, was lying still and cold in the chamber above us. 3. He called upon me as his friend, and addressed me, as you might suppose, with words of condolence. After a time he looked up and said, 'There are thousands of houses at this moment in the country where wives, mothers, and children are dying of hunger. 4. Now, when the first paroxysm of your grief is past, I would advise you to come with me and we will never rest till this cruel law is repealed.' 5. I accepted his invitation. I knew that the description he had given of the homes of thousands was not an exaggerated description. I felt in my conscience there was a work which somebody must do, and therefore I accepted his invitation, and from that time we never ceased to labour hard on the behalf of the resolution we had made.

1. I remember the time well. The sufferings throughout the country were fearful : and you who live now, but were not of an age to observe what was passing in the country then, can have no idea of the state of your country in that year.

The difficulty in this beautiful passage (from Mr. Bright's account of the beginnings of his labours in the work of agitating against the Corn Laws) is to give the *feeling*. The style has to be quite simple and unadorned like the English : the touches of poetic expression must not be omitted, or the effect will be lost : but they must be used with extreme care, or the Greek will seem turgid and artificial, which will be worse than anything.

In the first sentence the main difficulty is with the word *country*, which is no less than three times repeated : this is, even in the English, plain almost to baldness, and in Greek would hardly be tolerable. Once we have noticed it, it is not difficult to avoid (in translating) the repetition. Again, the simple phrase 'you who live now' can hardly be done literally : the antithesis would be false, because they were living then as well as now : and Greek is very careful to avoid such blemishes. We will translate by the sense, and say, 'who now are men, but then were children.' The rest is easy, and the first sentence will then run : *καὶ ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν εὖ μέμνημαί· πάντες γὰρ οἱ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ οὕτω δεινὰ ἐταλαιπωροῦντο ὥστε μὴδ' ἂν εἰκάξειν δύνασθαι τοὺς νῦν μὲν ἄνδρας γενομένους τότε δὲ παῖδας ὄντας οὐδ' ἱκανοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐνθυμείσθαι.*

Note : The negative in the last clause, if it came close to the *τοὺς*, would naturally be the generic *μή*, but it is so far off that in the phrase 'children, and not capable,' Greek would naturally revert to *οὐδέ*.

2. At that time when he called upon me, I was in the depths of grief, I might almost say despair : for the light and sunshine of my house had been extinguished. All that was left of my young wife, except the memory of a sainted life and of a too brief happiness, was lying still and cold in the chamber above us.

We might begin 'I myself too was,' etc., a sort of natural bringing into connection of the general misery and the special personal unhappiness; which, though a little more artificial than would be adopted in the narrative style, is simple enough in reality, and quite appropriate in the style of the orators. The real difficulties begin with the metaphor 'light and sunshine,' which we cannot omit altogether, as it forms the main point of the sentence: but we must soften it considerably, to prevent it being too startlingly poetical. The best way is to convert the metaphor into a simile, and wedge it well into the middle of the clause: 'for out of my house, as it were, light and the sun had been quenched.' The exceedingly beautiful and carefully written sentence that follows is the hardest of all to do satisfactorily. Perhaps the best thing to do is to put the plain fact first: 'my young wife was lying above dead': and then to add the more imaginative part, softened down as much as possible without spoiling it. In this sort of case one must proceed with the greatest caution, and even then tastes will differ materially as to the result. I should suggest something of the following kind: ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ αὐτός, ὅτε ὡς ἐμὲ προσῆλθεν, ἐν πένθει ὦν ἔτυχον καὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀμχανῶν· νεωστὶ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ὥσπερ φῶς μοι καὶ ἥλιος ἀπέσβη. νεκρὰ γὰρ ἄνω ἔκειτο ἢ νέα γυνή, οὐδὲ λοιπὸν μοι οὐδὲν ἦν παραμύθιον πλὴν τὴν ἐκείνης θέλαν τινὰ ἀρετὴν μνημονεύειν, καὶ τὴν ἐμαντοῦ εὐδαιμονίαν ὡς θᾶσσον δὴ ἀπώλετο.

In any case *θεῖος* gives as near a translation as we can want for the English word 'sainted': and 'still and cold' is too exalted an expression for Greek prose: we must *reduce the tone* of it, if the phrase may be permitted.

3. He called upon me as his friend, and addressed me, as you might suppose, with words of condolence. After a time he looked up and said: 'There are thousands of houses at this moment in the country where wives, mothers, and children are dying of hunger.'

I should suggest that it would be well to connect by beginning with οὕτως οὖν ἔχοντα, 'while I was in this state': also to prepare for 'after a time,' by inserting in the first clause the word τέως. 'As you might suppose' is best done by οἶον εἰκός. In the last clause there is nothing much to notice, except that, as the speaker had lost his wife (and that is the real connection of thought), it is clearer in Greek to bring out this by saying 'not only wives, but also mothers.'

The whole will then be as follows: οὕτως οὖν ἔχοντα πρὸς ἐμέ ὡς φίλος ὢν ἐκείνος προσελθὼν τέως μὲν οἶον εἰκός παρεμυθεῖτο· τέλος δὲ ἀναβλέψας μυρίας ἔφη οἰκίας εἶναι ἐν τῇ γῇ οὐπὲρ λιμῷ ἀπόλλυνται οὐ γυναῖκες μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ μητέρες καὶ παιδία.

4. 'Now, when the first paroxysm of your grief is past, I would advise you to come with me, and we will never rest till this cruel law is repealed.'

The oratio obliqua should naturally be continued. For 'first paroxysm,' we may perhaps say, 'now, when my grief becomes mellow,' using the idiomatic but rather poetical word πέπων. For the idiomatic 'never rest,' use πάση μηχανῇ, or πάντα πράσσειν. For 'cruel,' which is rather too personifying a word, we had better say χαλεπός. We shall then have: πείθειν οὖν, ἐπειδὴν θρηνήσαντί μοι πέπων γένηται ἢ λυπή, ἑαυτῷ ξυγγεγόμενον πάντα πράσσειν ὅπως τὸν χαλεπὸν τοῦτον νόμον ἀναιρήσομεν.

5. I accepted the invitation. I knew that the description he had given of the homes of thousands was not an exaggerated description. I felt in my conscience there was a work which somebody must do, and therefore I accepted his invitation : and from that time we never ceased to labour hard on behalf of the resolution we had made.

The first thing to notice here is the *comminuted* style of English as compared with Greek. It is broken up, and thus leads to repetition : 'I accepted his invitation' comes twice in the piece. The fact is, that in English the logical arrangement is just a little sacrificed, in order to put the fact in a summary form at the head of the sentence : this carries with it the necessity of saying the same thing twice over : first at the beginning, as a summary of the *outward* narrative, the relation of *fact* : then again later, when the *reasons* are given. This repetition, which in English adds greatly to the lucidity and impressiveness, and is a really artistic device used by all the greatest orators, is alien to the spirit of Greek. The longer connected sentence, with the *feeling* leading up to the *fact* at the end, is more in accordance with their idiom.

For the rest, it would be rather tiresome in Greek to repeat 'thousands,' it will be enough to say 'the people.' 'Not exaggerated' may be done simpler by saying 'true.' 'In my conscience' will be simply *κατ' ἑμαυτόν*. The rest consists only of small points of order and words, which will best be seen from the Greek : *εἰδὼς δὲ ἐγὼ τὸν δῆμον τῷ ὄντι τοιαῦτα πᾶσχοντα [οὐδὲν μείζον ἐκείνον λέξαντα ὧν ἀληθῶς ἔπασχεν ὁ δῆμος] καὶ ὁμολογῶν ἅμα κατ' ἑμαυτόν δεῖν τινα τοῦτῳ ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ ἔργῳ, συνήνεσα ταῦτα αὐτῷ συμπράξειν· καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου οὐδεπώποτε ἐπαυσάμεθα ἃ τότε ἔδοξεν ἐξεργαζόμενοι.*

XIII.—*PRESENT DISCONTENTS*—(BURKE).

1. Nothing indeed can be more unnatural than the present convulsions of the country, if the above account be a true one. I confess I shall assent to it with great reluctance, and only on the compulsion of the clearest and firmest proofs: because their account resolves itself into this short but discouraging proposition, that we have a very good ministry, but that we are a very bad people; that we set ourselves to bite the hand that feeds us; that with a malignant insanity we oppose the measures, and ungratefully vilify the persons, of those whose sole object is our own peace and prosperity. 2. It is besides no small aggravation of the public misfortune, that the disease, on this hypothesis, appears to be without remedy. If the wealth of the nation be the cause of its turbulence, I imagine it is not proposed to introduce poverty, as a constable, to keep the peace. 3. If our dominions abroad are the root which feed all this rank luxuriance of sedition, it is not intended to cut them off in order to famish the fruit. If our liberty has enfeebled the executive power, there is no design, I hope, to call in the aid of despotism, to fill up the deficiencies of law. 4. Whatever may be intended, these things are not yet professed. We seem therefore to be driven to absolute despair; for we have no other materials to work upon than those out of which God has been pleased to form the inhabitants of this island.

1. Nothing indeed can be more unnatural than the present convulsions of the country, if the above account be a true one. I confess I shall assent to it with great reluctance, and only on the compulsion of the clearest and firmest proofs : because their account resolves itself into this short but discouraging proposition, that we have a very good ministry, but that we are a very bad people ; that we set ourselves to bite the hand that feeds us ; that with a malignant insanity we oppose the measures, and ungratefully vilify the persons, of those whose sole object is our own peace and prosperity.

We must clearly begin with the condition (or *protasis*) of the sentence. 'The present convulsions' may be done by a verb : 'what the people suffer.' In the next sentence 'great reluctance' had better be the idiomatic *ἐκὼν γε εἶναι*. 'Only on the compulsion' will be 'not unless I were compelled.' Down to 'firmest proofs,' the piece may be done with fair literalness ; but the rest of the sentence requires a good deal of recasting. The extreme abstractness of the clause which begins 'because their account resolves itself into,' etc., forces us to forsake the Greek ; we must go by the sense. Something of this sort : 'What do they say ? This in reality—short but painful to say—that our politicians are,' etc. A little further on we come to the phrase 'we bite the hand that feeds us.' This is obviously too violent a metaphor to be possible in Greek without some sort of preparation to soften it ; the simplest way is to convert it into a simile straight off, and say, 'like bad dogs we bite the hand,' etc. In the last sentence we shall be wise to use the common device of putting the relative part of the clause first ; so that it will run somewhat in this way : 'those who aim at nothing more than peace,' etc., 'these we abuse, and resist.'

The whole will then be as follows : *εἰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ λέγουσιν, οὐδὲν δήπου ἀτοπώτερόν ἐστιν ὧν στασιάζουσιν [or πάσχουσι καὶ στασιάζουσιν] οἱ πολῖται· ἐγὼ*

δὲ οὐδαμῶς ἂν ἐκὼν γε εἶναι πιθοίμην, εἰ μὴ σαφειστάτοις καὶ βεβαιωτάτοις τεκμηρίοις ἀναγκαζοίμην· τί γὰρ ἐκείνοι ἄρα λέγουσιν; τοῦτο δὴπου τῷ ὄντι λέγουσι, βραχὺ μὲν λόγῳ, ἔργῳ δὲ λυπηρόν, ὅτι βελτίστους μὲν ἔχομεν τοὺς ἄρχοντας, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐδενός ἔσμεν ἄξιοι, καὶ ὥσπερ φαῦλοι κύνες τοὺς τρέφοντας δάκνομεν, καὶ μανία τινὶ ἡγριωμένοι τοὺς οὐδὲν μᾶλλον πράσσοντας ἢ ὅπως ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ εὐδαιμονίᾳ ἐσόμεθα αἰσχυρῶς ὅμως ἐπηρεάζομεν καὶ οἷς ἂν βουλεύωσιν ἀεὶ ἐναντιούμεθα.

Note (1) the long participial clause τοὺς οὐδὲν . . . ἐσόμεθα might be done by a relative, οἷπερ. Then after ἐσόμεθα insert with the usual lucidity of rhetoric τοὺς οὕτως, etc.;—(2) I use οὐδὲν after τοὺς, where the generic μηδὲν would equally well suit, because the objector would naturally like to state that these politicians *actually have no other motive*.

2. It is besides no small aggravation of the public misfortune, that the disease, on this hypothesis, appears to be without remedy. If the wealth of the nation be the cause of its turbulence, I imagine it is not proposed to introduce poverty, as a constable, to keep the peace.

We must clearly avoid the extreme abstractness of the first phrase. The simplest way of doing this is to make 'the country' the subject of the whole sentence somewhat in the following way: 'And the city suffers still more severely in this respect, that,' etc. In the second half also the idiomatic way of presenting the idea is to make the 'nation' the subject. Notice further that the main reason in English why the clause is so abstract is that the writer wants to bring 'the wealth' strongly to the front, and make 'the cause' the predicate; and that this is done in Greek quite easily and simply by the order of the words. The clause will then run, 'For if on account of wealth, the people,' etc., and the whole will be in Greek as follows: καὶ ἔτι χαλεπώτερον

ἔχει ταύτη ἡ πόλις, εἰ ἀληθῆ λέγουσιν, διότι ταύτης τῆς νόσου οὐδὲν ἄκος ὑπάρχει. εἰ μὲν γὰρ διὰ πλοῦτον οὕτως ἐν ταραχῇ εἰσιν, οὐ δήπου τὴν πενίαν φύλακα ἐπάξονται ὥστε τὸν δῆμον κατασχεῖν.

3. If our dominions abroad are the root which feed all this rank luxuriance of sedition, it is not intended to cut them off in order to famish the fruit. If our liberty has enfeebled the executive power, there is no design, I hope, to call in the aid of despotism, to fill up the deficiencies of law.

Again we have a metaphor too suddenly introduced for Greek: we must follow the same method as before, and convert it into a simile: 'if out of our foreign rule as out of a bad root sedition has grown so strong,' etc. 'The fruit' may be 'what grows from.' In the second sentence there is no difficulty except the common one of abstracts; we need only say that 'the executive power' will be the nominative of the sentence, and will be personal—'the magistrates': 'if owing to our being free the magistrates are less powerful,' etc. The only thing that need be added is that very often in Greek the liveliness of the sentence is very much increased by introducing a question instead of expressing the sense by a negative, as in the English. So here, both clauses of this sentence may be very well expressed by putting the thing in an interrogative shape.

We shall then have: εἰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἔξωθεν ἀρχῆς ὥσπερ ἐκ φαύλης ρίζης ἐς τοσοῦτον ἡϋξῆται καὶ τέθηλεν ἡ στάσις, πότερον ἐκείνην ἐξορύξουσιν, ὥστε τὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς γενόμενα διαφθεῖραι; εἰ δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐλευθέρους ἄρα εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἦσσαν κρατοῦσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες, πότερον τὴν τυραννίδα διανοοῦνται καταστήσαι ἵνα τὸ ἐλλιπὲς τῶν νόμων πληρωθῇ;

4. Whatever may be intended, these things are not yet professed. We seem therefore to be driven to absolute despair; for we have no other materials to work upon than those out of which God has been pleased to form the inhabitants of this island.

The first sentence is written in a very ironical spirit: and it is a question if it would be well to translate it literally. It seems to me that in Greek it would be overdoing the irony to say it just as the English does: it would be enough to say 'but they do not intend anything of the kind; at any rate they do not say so': or perhaps still better and more close to the English: 'if indeed they intend anything of this kind, at any rate they do not as yet say anything openly about it.' The real difficulty is with the last phrase: 'other materials to work upon' is a phrase very unlike the unmetaphorical expressions of Greek. The best way is to be rigidly concrete and precise, and to go generally by the sense: perhaps we may say 'the persons we have to deal with are such as it has pleased,' etc.; and note here, further, that the sense is made much clearer by the regular Greek method of beginning with the relative: 'of what kind it has seemed good to providence to make the inhabitants, etc. . . . of that kind are the men with whom we have to deal.'

The Greek of the whole will then be: *εἰ μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτόν τι ἐν νῶ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐπω γοῦν φανερώς δηλοῦσιν· ὥστε οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ ἐς ἀπορίαν καθέσταμεν· οἷους γὰρ δὴ θεῶ ἔδοξε τοὺς ταύτην τὴν νῆσον ἐνοικούντας ποιῆσαι, τοιοῦτοῖς χρῆσθαι καὶ προσφέρεσθαι ἡμᾶς τοὺς πολιτευομένους ἀνάγκη.* Or rather more literally—*οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔχομεν οἱ πολιτευόμενοι ᾧ χρησόμεθα πλὴν τῶν ταύτην τὴν νῆσον ἐνοικούντων, οἷους τινὰς θεῶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι.*

XIV.—‘SENTIMENTAL’ POLITICS—(BURKE).

1. ALL this I know well enough will sound wild and chimerical to the profane herd of those vulgar and mechanical politicians, who have no place among us: a sort of people who think that nothing exists but what is gross and material: and who therefore, far from being qualified to be directors of the great movement of empire, are not fit to turn a wheel in the machine. 2. But to men truly initiated and rightly taught, these ruling and master principles, which in the opinion of such men as I have mentioned, have no substantial existence, are in truth everything and all in all. 3. Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom: and a great empire and little minds go ill together. 4. If we are conscious of our situation, and glow with zeal to fill our place as becomes our station and ourselves, we ought to auspicate all our public proceedings on America with the old warning of the church, *Sursum corda*. We ought to elevate our minds to the greatness of that trust to which the order of Providence has called us. 5. By adverting to the dignity of this high calling our ancestors have turned a savage wilderness into a glorious empire: and have made the most extensive and the only honourable conquests, not by destroying, but by promoting the wealth, the number, and the happiness of the human race. 6. Let us get an American revenue as we have got an American empire. English privileges have made it all that it is: English privileges alone will make it all it can be.

1. All this, I know well enough, will sound wild and chimerical to the profane herd of those vulgar and mechanical politicians, who have no place among us ; a sort of people who think that nothing exists but what is gross and material ; and who, therefore, far from being qualified to be directors of the great movement of empire, are not fit to turn a wheel in the machine.

The difficulty of this very fine peroration of one of the best of Burke's speeches lies not so much in the spirit, which is by no means remote from Greek, as in the diction and phraseology, which is often highly idiomatic and modern. In the first sentence it is simple enough to substitute for 'this will sound' the more personal turn 'I shall seem.' 'Chimerical' may be ἀμήχανος : 'vulgar,' βάναντος. 'Mechanical' is difficult : perhaps,—as it is properly opposed to 'men of insight,'—for 'mechanical politicians' we might use the word πάνδημος. 'Profane herd' again is hard : it contains, what is common in Burke's rich and imaginative style, a suggested and concealed metaphor—comparing the self-styled practical politicians, in contrast to the men of wider thought, higher ideals, and truer insight, to the *profane* persons or outsiders, as contrasted with the men who are *initiated* into religious mysteries : a thought which might easily be overdone, but which adds immensely to the force and effect of the passage, when, as here, it is lightly touched. On the whole, I think it had better be omitted, and we must trust to the word πάνδημοις for conveying something like the taunt. If it be preferred to render it, we may say ὥσπερ ἀμνήτοις here, and then μεμνημένοις in the next sentence. 'Who have no place among us' is catchy : 'who do not deserve a place in the city,' or something of that kind. 'Gross and material' might be done with adjectives in Plato's style, but we had better boldly say 'but what they see and feel.' Lastly, 'a wheel in the machine' cannot be turned literally. We should say 'not even the smallest part of the government.'

The first sentence will then be : ταῦτα δὲ λέγων εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι ἀμήχανα καὶ ἀνόητα δόξω λέγειν τοῖς βαναύσοις καὶ πανδήμοις τῶν πολιτευομένων οὓς μηδὲ μετεῖναι ἐχρῆν τῆς πόλεως· οὗτοι γάρ, οὐδὲ εἶναι οἰόμενοι οὐδὲν πλὴν ὧν ὁρῶσι καὶ αἰσθάνονται, οὐχ ἱκανοὶ δὴ εἰσιν οὐχ ὅπως ἀρχῆς ἀξιόχρεω ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ φανλότατον μέρος μεταχειρίσασθαι.

Note: For 'great movement of empire' I use the more concrete 'a considerable empire.'

2. But to men truly initiated and rightly taught, these ruling and master principles, which in the opinion of such men as I have mentioned, have no substantial existence, are in truth everything and all in all.

This sentence had better be broken into two. Instead of 'these ruling and master principles' say 'these things seem important and prevailing everywhere': 'and what the others do not think to exist . . . these consider,' etc. This conveniently gets rid of the awkward word 'principles,' and gives the real sense. 'Everything and all in all' may be τὸ πάντων κεφάλαιον: or we may use the milder phrase, περὶ πλείστου ποιοῦνται.

The whole will then be something of this kind: τοῖς δὲ ὁρθῶς καὶ φιλοσόφως πεπαιδευμένοις μέγала ταῦτα καὶ πανταχοῦ κρατοῦντα φαίνεται καὶ ἅπερ ἐκεῖνοι οὐδὲ εἶναι νομίζουσιν, οὗτοι τὸ πάντων κεφάλαιον ἡγοῦνται.

3. Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom: and a great empire and little minds go ill together.

Here of course we must personalise. The commonest form of such a sentence would be: 'In politics a man would be most wise being magnanimous,' πλείστ' ἂν τις σωφρονοίη, etc. In the last clause the sense must be given, and the form will have to be disregarded, as we cannot in Greek say anything about 'going ill together.' Perhaps the best turn would be: 'it belongs not to a narrow mind to order a great empire,' or something of that kind.

The Greek will then be : ἐν γὰρ τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι ἔσθ' ὅτε πλείστα τις σωφρονεῖ μεγάλόψυχος ὢν, οὐδὲ φαύλης καὶ δικανικῆς διανοίας ἐστὶ μεγάλην ἀρχὴν διοικεῖν.

4. If we are conscious of our situation, and glow with zeal to fill our place as becomes our station and ourselves, we ought to auspicate all our public proceedings on America with the old warning of the Church, *Sursum corda*. We ought to elevate our minds to the greatness of that trust to which the order of Providence has called us.

The difficulty of the beginning comes from the repetition of the same idea—situation, place, station. Perhaps the best thing to do in Greek is to make the first one clear, and afterwards to give it very briefly: 'If we know what a rule we hold, and desire to govern worthily of,' etc., or 'as befits such persons with such a charge.' In what remains we have ideas very foreign to Greek, with which we must necessarily deal very freely, giving only the general effect, perhaps somewhat in this way: 'as the priest, when beginning the rite, bids . . . so ought we, when we are considering about America . . . ' In the last sentence we see again the practised skill of the orator. To make his point safe, he gives it a second time in an English shape: he translates the 'sursum corda' by 'we ought to elevate our minds.' The best way to render the spirit in Greek would be not to repeat the phrase, but to add a *final* clause as follows: 'in order that we may understand how great things the gods have intrusted to us.'

The whole will then be : ὥστε εἰ ξύνισμεν ἑαυτοῖς ἐν οἷοις ἐσμέν καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦμεν οὕτω πολιτεύεσθαι ὡς προσήκει τοὺς τοιοῦτους ὄντας καὶ τοιαῦτα διοικούντας, δεῖ δὴπου, ὥσπερ οἱ ἱερεῖς τελετῶν ἀρχόμενοι Καρδίαν ἐπαίρειν κελεύουσιν, οὕτω καὶ καὶ ἡμᾶς περὶ Ἀμερικῆς βουλευόντας ἐπαρθῆναι, ἵνα συνιῶμεν ὡς μέγала δὴ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει οἱ θεοὶ ἐπέτρεψαν.

5. By adverting to the dignity of this high calling our ancestors have turned a savage wilderness into a glorious empire : and have made the most extensive and the only honourable conquests, not by destroying, but by promoting the wealth, the number, and the happiness of the human race.

'Adverting to' here is simply old English for 'remembering,' 'keeping in mind,' *μεμνημένος, μνημονεύων, ἐνθυμούμενος*, etc. 'Dignity of this high calling' is a mere repetition of the idea of the previous sentence, and in the Greek need not, I think, be repeated: we may simply say 'such things,' 'these things': for 'turned,' we may say 'made out of.' The rest is easy.

The sentence will be: *τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἐνθυμούμενοι οἱ πατέρες ἐξ ἐρήμου καὶ ἀγρίας χώρας λαμπροτάτην ἀρχὴν ἀπειργάσαντο, καὶ μεγίστην καὶ μόνην εὐδόκιμον νίκην ἐνίκησαν ταύτην, οὐ διαφθείροντες ἀλλ' αὐξάνοντες πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλοῦτον καὶ πλήθος καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν.*

Note the emphatic and predicative position of *ταύτην*.

6. Let us get an American revenue as we have got an American empire. English privileges have made it all that it is : English privileges alone will make it all it can be.

The real connection of sentences is 'the empire': and the relative clause must therefore, as often, come first. The last two antithetic clauses are thoroughly English in form: they need a good deal of recasting in Greek to make them idiomatic. The best thing to do is to make it all absolutely clear by adding a participial clause to the first sentence of this kind, 'by giving them a share of our liberty': then we can again express with great ease and simplicity the sense of the last sentence by saying 'for by what means it grew to this height, by that it will grow yet more.' With these recastings the whole becomes quite straightforward, and the last piece will run as follows: *ὥσπερ οὖν ἀρχὴν ἐκεῖ ἐκτησάμεθα οὕτω καὶ πρόσοδον δεῖ κτήσασθαι, τῆς ἐνθάδε ἐλευθερίας μεταδόντες· ἥ γὰρ ἐς τοσοῦτο ηὐξήθη, ταύτην μόνον οἶόν τε ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπὶ μείζον αὐξηθῆναι.*

XV.—O'CONNELL—(MACAULAY)

1. With this judge, you have a verdict, and what have you gained by it? Have you pacified Ireland? No doubt there is at this moment an apparent tranquillity: but it is a tranquillity more alarming than turbulence.

2. The Irish will be quiet till you begin to put the sentence of imprisonment into execution, because feeling the deepest interest in the fate of their persecuted tribune, they will do nothing that can be prejudicial to him.

3. But will they be quiet when the door of a gaol has closed upon him? Is it possible to believe that an agitator, whom they adored while his agitation was a source of profit to him, will lose his hold on their affections by being a martyr in what they consider as their cause?

4. If I, who am strongly attached to the Union, who think Mr. O'Connell's conduct highly reprehensible, cannot conscientiously say that he has had a fair trial; if the prosecutors themselves are forced to say that things have happened which have excited a prejudice against the verdict and the judgment; what must be the feelings of the people of Ireland, who believe not merely that he is guiltless, but that he is the best friend that they ever had?

5. He will no longer be able to harangue them: but his wrongs will stir their blood more than his eloquence ever did: nor will he in confinement be able to exercise that influence which has so often restrained them, even in their most excited mood, from proceeding to acts of violence.

1. With this judge, you have a verdict. And what have you gained by it? Have you pacified Ireland? No doubt there is at this moment an apparent tranquillity: but it is a tranquillity more alarming than turbulence.

In the first sentence he has evidently been describing the unsatisfactory character of the judge: so that the verdict was robbed of most of its value. We had better therefore say, for 'this,' τοιοῦτος. For 'you have a verdict,' it is possible to translate strictly according to the sense, and say 'the man has been for you condemned;' but this rather loses the force of 'you have,' suggesting, as it does, that the government had tried to get a verdict: and I should therefore prefer the other method, namely, to say boldly 'you have condemned him.' In the latter of the two clauses, 'there is at this moment an apparent,' etc., should of course be done *personally*: we must make Ireland the subject of the sentence. Then there is no further difficulty, and the sentence will run as follows: ἀλλὰ μέντοι τοιοῦτον ἔχοντες τὸν δικάστην κατεκρίνατε· καὶ τί πλέον ἄρα ἔχετε; μὲν ἐκείνους τῆς στάσεως ἐπαύσατε; φαίνονται μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν, τοιαύτην γε μὴν ἦν φανερώς στάσεως μᾶλλον δεῖ φοβεῖσθαι.

Note πλέον ἔχειν for 'advantage.' γε μὴν, strong adversative. φοβεῖσθαι δεῖ, the personal way of doing 'formidable.' It would however be equally good to follow the English, and say, τοιαύτην γε μὴν ἦτις φανερώς στάσεως πολὺ δήπου φοβερωτέρα.

2. The Irish will be quiet till you begin to put the sentence of imprisonment into execution; because, feeling the deepest interest in the fate of their persecuted tribune, they will do nothing that can be prejudicial to him.

This sentence has a good deal of idiom in it. First, 'begin to put the sentence' had best be done into Greek by saying, in greater detail, 'Having condemned, also try to shut up,' or something of that kind. Again, to 'feel the deepest interest' is another thoroughly English phrase: I think it will be enough to say 'pity.' For 'persecuted' we

must say 'suffering such things': and, still more important, in the Greek it must not be allowed to be an *attribute*, but must be given as an additional fact without the article. Again, 'that can be prejudicial to him' is an example of the turn so common in English, where the expression is wanting in the precise sharpness of the Greek. We had better say 'lest he suffer something worse.' We shall then be able to render 2 as follows: *καὶ οὐδὲν ἴσως βίαιον δράσουσι μέχρι οὐ καταγρόντες καὶ ἐς φυλακὴν ἀπάγειν πειρᾶσθε· τέως γὰρ οἰκτεῖροντες τοιαῦτα πάσχοντα τὸν εὐεργέτην εὐλαβοῦνται δὴ βιᾶ μὴ χρῆσθαι μὴ ἔτι κακίῳ πάθῃ.*

Note, *τέως* adds to the clearness by repeating (demonstrative) the idea of *μέχρι οὐ* (relative). *βιᾶ μὴ χρῆσθαι κ.τ.λ.*: the full sense of the English is expressly given in the Greek.

3. But will they be quiet when the door of a gaol has closed upon him? Is it possible to believe that an agitator, whom they adored while his agitation was a source of profit to him, will lose his hold on their affections by being a martyr in what they consider as their cause?

'Door of a gaol,' etc., will be more simply turned, 'be shut up within.' For 'agitator' we will use the word *δημηγορέω*: but let it be specially noticed that it will be more idiomatic to use it *not* as a name, as in the English, but attach it participially, *δημηγοροῦντα*. 'Lose his hold,' etc., English artificial style: get down to the fact, and it becomes 'that they will less love' or 'honour.' Again, a 'martyr' requires interpreting: 'suffering for them' is the simplest. 'What they consider' can be sufficiently done by the dramatic particle.

The Greek will then be: *ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἅπαξ εἰρχθῇ, πότερον ἔτι ἡσυχάσουσιν; ἀρα δυνατόν ἐλπίζειν, ὅτινα δημηγοροῦντα ὅτε ἑαυτῷ συνέφερεν ὁμῶς ἐτίμων, τοῦτον ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων δὴ ταλαιπωρούμενον ἡσσόν τι τιμήσειν;*

Notice the position of *ὅτινα*: the relative idea first, as usual in rhetorical Greek.

4. If I, who am strongly attached to the union, who think Mr. O'Connell's conduct highly reprehensible, cannot conscientiously say he has had a fair trial; if the prosecutors themselves are forced to say that things have happened which have excited a prejudice against the verdict and the judgment; what must be the feelings of the people of Ireland, who believe not merely that he is guiltless, but that he is the best friend that they ever had?

In the general structure there is no difficulty; it is very like Greek: 'If I, on the one hand . . . those who prosecuted on the other . . . what do you think that the people . . '

The real crux is with the phrases. First 'strongly attached to the union' is, of course, very allusive, and in Greek must be fully explained: perhaps better say, 'who am very anxious that the Irish should not become autonomous'; or 'who would choose before much that . . .' 'Cannot conscientiously say that' may be more simply done by 'necessarily confess.' Again, 'things have happened which have excited' is a very clumsy sentence, and we had better go by the sense only: it might do to say 'people are by some chance angry.' But as the English implies that the anger is *natural*, perhaps we had better say 'that some people are naturally discontented with the . . .' As to the phrases 'verdict' and 'judgment,' they may be done literally, or, possibly better, personally: 'those who have thus judged him, and assessed such a sentence.' Lastly, in the principal clause, we have a very common English idiom, 'the feelings,' meaning 'the angry feelings': it is safer to interpret. For 'best friend,' it is perhaps as well to add a caution: the Greek word *φίλος*, *φίλτατος* rather implies a person *whom you love*: the English word 'friend' here means, as often, a person *who has done you a service*; and it is necessary to make this clear.

The whole will then be: *εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ μὲν περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος ἐκείνους μήποτε αὐτονόμους γενέσθαι, καὶ τῷ*

Κλέωνι τούτῳ πολλὰ μεμφομένως ῥήμας κατ' ἀνάγκην ὁμολογῶ ἀδίκως κατακεκρίσθαι· αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ ἐγκαλέσαντες τοιαῦτά φασι συμβῆναι ὥστε εἰκότως τινὰς καὶ τοῖς δικασταῖς καὶ τῷ ξημίαν τάξαντι χαλεπαίνειν, πῶς οἴεσθε ἀγανακτεῖν τοὺς αὐτόθεν, οὔτινες οὐκ ἀναίτιον μόνον ἐκείνων ἡγοῦνται ἀλλὰ πάντων μᾶλλον ἑαυτῶν εὐεργέτην;

5. He will no longer be able to harangue them; but his wrongs will stir their blood more than his eloquence ever did: nor will he in confinement be able to exercise that influence which has so often restrained them, even in their most excited mood, from proceeding to acts of violence.

The second clause about 'his wrongs stirring their blood' will have to be made personal, of course: nor is there any difficulty in doing it so, except the difficulty of keeping it sufficiently terse. 'To excite' is *ταράσσω*, *ὀρμάω*, *ἐξορίνω*. For 'stir their blood' and 'confinement' we shall naturally get simpler equivalents. There will then be no further difficulty.

The Greek of the whole will be: *καὶ δημηγοροῦντος μὲν οὐκέτι ἔσται ἀκούειν· εἰδότες δὲ οἷα πάσχει πολὺ πλείονα ὀργὴν ἔξουσιν ἢ τῶν λόγων τότε ἀκροώμενοι· ὁ δὲ ἐν φυλακῇ ὢν οὐκέτι δὴ καθέξει, ὥς πολλάκις ἤδη καὶ σφόδρα ὀρμωμένους κατέσχευεν, μὴ ἐς τὸ βιαιότερον τραπέσθαι.*

The first of these clauses is a good example of the constant tendency in English to artificialise the arrangement of the acts and subjects: 'his wrongs will stir their blood' makes the action centre imaginatively round the man in prison, when the real thing described is the feelings of the people outside. The Greek reverts to the strict reality.

In the last clause it is in the English the 'influence' which restrains: in the Greek, of course, it must be the 'man.' And observe that I use *μὴ*, and not *μὴ οὐ*, as the last clause follows close on the positive *κατέσχευεν*, and is further removed from the negative *οὐκέτι δὴ καθέξει*.

XVI.—THE DUKE OF GRAFTON—(JUNIUS).

1. You have publicly declared, even after your resignation, that you approved of their measures, and admired their characters—particularly that of the Earl of Sandwich. What a pity it is that with all this approbation you should think it necessary to separate yourself from such amiable companions! 2. You forget, my lord, that while you are lavish in the praise of men whom you desert, you are publicly opposing your conduct to your opinions, and depriving yourself of the only plausible pretence you had for leaving your Sovereign overwhelmed with distress: I call it plausible, for in truth there is no reason whatsoever, less than the frowns of your master, that could justify a man of spirit for abandoning his post at a moment so critical and important. 3. It is in vain to evade the question. If you will not speak out, the public have a right to judge from appearances. We are authorised to conclude that you either differed from your colleagues, whose measures you still affect to defend, or that you thought the administration of the King's affairs no longer tenable. 4. You are at liberty to choose between the hypocrite and the coward. Your best friends are in doubt which way they shall incline. Your country unites the characters, and gives you credit for them both. For my own part, I see nothing inconsistent in your conduct. You began by betraying the people, you conclude with betraying the King.

1. You have publicly declared, even after your resignation, that you approved of their measures, and admired their characters—particularly that of the Earl of Sandwich. What a pity it is that with all this approbation you should think it necessary to separate yourself from such amiable companions!

In the structure of the first clause there is one little point which we often have to notice, namely, that the English uses two verbs—‘*Approved* of their measures, and *admired* their characters,’—whereas the Greek would more likely put one verb to the front, and say, ‘Praised them, both what they have counselled, and what they themselves were in virtue,’ or something of that sort. ‘Resignation’ must of course be done by a verb, and the vaguer English must be made precise. Thus we shall say: ‘After you ceased to hold office,’ ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπαύσω, or ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπέλιπες.

The scathing irony given in the sentence, ‘particularly that of the Earl of Sandwich’—the most notorious profligate even in the Duke of Grafton’s ministry—must be somehow rendered either by inserting ‘I think,’ or some dramatic particle like δὴ or δήπου. For ‘what a pity it is,’ say δεινὸν ποιεῖσθαι εἰ, or θαυμάζω εἰ. ‘With all this approbation’ will be naturally in Greek turned with a participle, with or without ‘although.’

‘Such amiable companions’ may be done literally, οὕτω φιλανθρώπων, or ἐπικικῶν ἀνδρῶν, or by the simple use of the convenient word τοιοῦτος.

The whole will then be: ἐκείνους δὲ φανερώς ἐπίνεσας, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπαύσω, ὡς συμφέροντά τε βουλεύοντας καὶ αὐτοὺς σπουδαίους ὄντας· καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα, οἶμαι, τὸν Αἰσχίνην. ἐγὼ δὲ δεινὸν ποιοῦμαι εἰ οὕτως ἐπαινῶν ἀφεστάναι δεῖν ᾧ τῶν τοιούτων.

2. You forget, my lord, that while you are lavish in the praise of men whom you desert, you are publicly opposing your conduct to your opinions, and depriving yourself of the only plausible pretence you had for leaving your Sovereign overwhelmed with distress: I call it plausible, for in truth there is no reason whatsoever, less than the frowns of your master, that could justify a man of spirit for abandoning his post at a moment so critical and important.

‘Lavish in the praise’ may be done simply by one word—‘flatter,’ *κολακεύω*. ‘You are publicly opposing’ is a little too artificial, in the way in which the idea is presented, for Greek: it is better to say, ‘You prove to be opposed.’ ‘Conduct’ and ‘opinions’ may be either done by verbs—‘what you think’ and ‘what you do’: or more simply by ‘deeds’ and ‘thoughts’: either *ἃ ἐνθυμεί οἱς ἔδρασας ἐναντία*, or *ἔργα* and *γνώμη*, etc. ‘The only plausible pretence you had’ is one of those clauses which in Greek is the same in structure, but different in order: the Greeks would say, ‘which alone you had plausible pretext,’ *ἣν μόνην εἶχες μετρίαν* or *(εὐπρεπῇ) πρόφασιν*: and moreover the relative clause, as so often, would come first, the principal verb, ‘deprive,’ being the end of the sentence. ‘For leaving,’ after ‘pretence,’ will be either *ὥστε* or *δι’ ἧντινα*, or even might be done with *τοῦ* and the infinitive.

In the second half of this long sentence the main thing to be observed is the *real antithesis*, which in the English is a little concealed by the arrangement of the sentence. The real antithesis is between the idea of ‘plausible pretence’ and the idea of ‘just reason’: but the latter is expanded into the longer phrase, ‘There is no reason that could justify.’ We must restore this in the Greek: ‘Moderate pretext, I say: for just reason you cannot mention,’ etc. ‘The frowns of your master’ is a highly metaphorical turn of phrase, and must naturally be translated according to the sense: ‘Unless the King had quarrelled with you,’ or ‘unless the King had

dismissed you in anger.' A little further down the metaphorical expression 'abandoning his post' may be done literally: it is a common Greek metaphor; and in rhetoric metaphors are much more allowed than in ordinary narrative. Or if it is preferred to give the sense, we may say, 'to abandon the King.' Lastly, 'critical and important' is only the common repetition of this rather verbose style: it will be quite enough to say merely, 'so great a crisis': using the convenient words *τοσοῦτος* or *τοιούτος καιρός*.

The whole sentence will then run somewhat as follows: ἐπελάθου γάρ, ὠνθρωπε, ὅτι τῷ τούτους κολακεύειν οὐς ἀπέλιπες ἐναντία δηλοῖς ὄντα τὰ ἔργα τῇ γνώμῃ, καὶ οὕτω ἦν μόνην εἶχες εὐπρεπῇ πρόφασιν ὥστε βασιλέα ταλαιπωρούμενον προδοῦναι, ταύτην αὐτὸς ἀφεῖλες· καὶ εὐπρεπῇ λέγω πρόφασιν· αἰτίαν γὰρ δικαίαν οὐδεμίαν ἂν εἴποι οὐδεὶς, ὅστις μὴ δειλὸς ἐστὶ καὶ κακός, δι' ἣντινα ἐν καιρῷ τοσοῦτῳ τὴν τάξιν δεῖ ἀπολιπεῖν, πλὴν εἰ ὁ βασιλεὺς δυσχεραίνων ἀπήλασεν.

3. It is in vain to evade the question. If you will not speak out, the public have a right to judge from appearances. We are authorised to conclude that you either differed from your colleagues, whose measures you still affect to defend, or that you thought the administration of the King's affairs no longer tenable.

The first difficulty is with the thoroughly idiomatic expression, 'It is in vain to evade.' The Greeks would not say *μάταιόν ἐστι* with infinitive; they would more likely make it *personal*, and say 'You are not benefited,' or 'You vainly try': or perhaps even more idiomatically still, 'Don't try . . .' For 'evade the question' many different phrases might be found; I should suggest 'when asked have recourse to shifts,' *ἐρωτώμενος ἐς προφάσεις καταφεύγειν*. The public will be 'we,' or 'all men,' or 'the rest of us,' etc. For 'appearances' one might say simply 'from what we see,' or

perhaps it would do to use the more convenient phrase 'to guess from what was likely,' which is after all more close to what the writer really means. In the next clause, the words with which it opens, 'We are authorised to conclude,' are only a stately repetition of the foregoing words, 'We have a right to judge,' a repetition which we shall certainly not make in Greek. We may either say, 'And judging so, you will appear . . .,' or 'And the probability is that you either . . .,' or simply omit it, continue the sentence, and begin with the conjunction 'that.' 'Differed from' will be 'to oppose,' *ἐναντιοῦσθαι*. 'Colleagues' will be *σύμβουλοι*. In the last clause there is a certain ambiguity, namely, as to what he means by calling the administration of the King's affairs 'no longer tenable.' The context seems to show that he means 'it is no longer safe for you to manage matters.' We may therefore turn it as follows: *οὐκέτι ἀσφαλὲς νομίζων τὰ πράγματα διοικεῖν*. Or we might put it as incapacity: *οὐκέτι οἷός τ' εἶναι νομίζων τὰ τῆς πόλεως διοικεῖν*.

The whole bit will then be somewhat of this sort: *μηδὲ ἐρωτώμενος ἐς προφάσεις καταφύγης· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἐθέλεις ἀποκρίνασθαι δίκαιοι ἐσμεν ἐκ τοῦ εἰκότος λογίσασθαι· οὕτω δὲ λογιζομένοις φανήσῃ ἢ τοῖς συμβούλοις τότε ἐναντιούμενος οὗς νῦν προσποιεῖ ἐπαινεῖν, ἢ οὐκέτι ἀσφαλὲς νομίζων τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιχειρεῖν*.

4. You are at liberty to choose between the hypocrite and the coward. Your best friends are in doubt which way they shall incline. Your country unites the characters, and gives you credit for them both. For my own part, I see nothing inconsistent in your conduct. You began by betraying the people, you conclude with betraying the King.

The first clause would in Greek be made more personal: 'You may choose whether you prefer to be false,' etc. In the second clause 'which way they shall incline' would be

interpreted according to the usual principle of dealing with obscurities. Greeks would go by the sense, and say 'which they shall charge you with,' or something like that, more precise than the English. 'Unites the characters' is rather artificial, and in Greek would probably be done by a participle, *συμμίξας*, or *συλλαβών*, or even an adverb, 'together,' *όμοῦ*. The last sentence hardly requires any comment, except perhaps to say that the antithesis 'you began . . . you conclude' would not be turned by two verbs as in the English, but by a participle and a verb.

We shall then have: *ὦν ὁπότερον ἂν θέλῃς ἐλοῦ, ἢ ψευδὴς εἶναι ἢ δειλός· καὶ ἀμφισβητοῦσι μὲν οἱ γνώριμοι πότερον σοῦ καταγνῶσιν· ἢ δὲ πόλις ἀμφότερα συλλαβοῦσα κατηγορεῖ. ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδὲν δοκεῖς τοῖς πρόσθεν ἐναντίον βεβουλεῦσθαι· ὅστις προδοὺς κατ' ἀρχὴν τὸν δῆμον, τελευτῶν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα προὔδωκας.*

Note (1) the more lively imperative *ἐλοῦ* for 'you are at liberty';—(2) *καταγνῶσιν*, deliberative subjunctive, more idiomatic in questions than the future;—(3) *ὅστις*, frequently used idiomatically in giving a reason for a judgment on a person, instead of saying *ὅτι*, or *ἐπεὶ*, or *γάρ*.

XVII.—*THE DOG*—(HELPS).

1. A MAN and a dog, they say, were walking along a straight road chatting pleasantly together. Yes, said the man, you certainly are a very clever creature. You make good use of your nose, and your eyes, and your ears. What a pity it is you have not hands like we have! 2. Oh! said the dog, you don't know then that we once had hands like yours, and how fortunate we were to get rid of them? You see even now some of us attended by foreigners with musical instruments, who walk upright and gain many drachms. 3. But this is how we came to lose our hands. Artemis, pleased with our skill in hunting, asked us what boon she should pray Zeus to give us. 4. We took some time to think: some were for asking that men should not be suffered to pick the bones quite so clean: others that it should not be lawful to hares and rabbits to run so fast: others that men should not choose such mean and foolish names for us. 5. But a prudent old dog said, Zeus is wiser than we are: let us ask him to take away from us whatever is most dangerous. Then suddenly our hands became paws, and henceforth we went upon four legs. 6. Many of us grumbled: some even threatened Zeus to believe no more in him: but the god replied that he had done the best for us. If we had kept our hands we might in time have made as bad a use of them as men, and become as dishonest and wicked as they were.

1. A man and a dog, they say, were walking along a straight road chatting pleasantly together. Yes, said the man, you certainly are a very clever creature. You make good use of your nose, and your eyes, and your ears. What a pity it is you have not hands like we have!

This story being told for a satirical purpose, should be done into the playful style of the anecdotes which Socrates tells in Plato. This is a style at once easy and finished, and exceedingly humorous: and it is hard enough to imitate at all successfully, and perhaps still harder to lay down any rules or hints for imitating it. One may, however, say generally, that it is a sort of ideal and highly polished conversation, flowing and rather diffuse, and easy, natural in its sequences, without any of the balance or periodic character of the rhetorical prose, and at the same time highly dramatic and vivacious. It will thus show the delicacies of Greek speech even more fully than usual: understatements, innuendoes, suggestions, optatives with *ἀν* for definite futures or presents: the habit of speaking of things as *appearing* to be, in *danger of being*, *supposed* to be, instead of saying plainly they *are*: plenty of dramatic particles, mockery of all sorts, —mock simplicity, mock poetry, mock pathos, mock elegance, mock politeness, mock gravity, even mock mockery. Some of these marks of the Platonic style of course depend on the *matter* of the piece, over which, as we are translating, we naturally have no control. But some also depend on the *manner* of presentment of the idea, and if the English be an appropriate piece may be aptly brought in.

In the first few clauses of the present piece there is little or nothing to alter in the structure, all being so exceedingly simple; but we may note one or two points which make the story sound a little more dramatic and amusing. Thus in the second sentence, 'yes' is not the answer to a question, and a Greek would say, 'and by Zeus,' or something of that

kind. Again, for 'very clever creature,' we may use the idiom *θαυμασίως ὡς σοφός*. For to 'make good use of,' the Greeks would probably say, 'know well how to use,' or something like that, *εὖ ἐπίστασθαι χρῆσθαι*. In the last clause, for 'what a pity it is,' etc., we might use a great variety of turns: *θαυμάζω γὰρ εἰ μὴ . . . , οἰκτρὸς δὲ εἰ ὅστις οὐκ ἔχεις . . . , δεινὰ δοκεῖς πεπονθέναι ὅτι οὐκ ἔχεις . . .*

We shall then have for the whole of the first section: *φασὶ γὰρ ἄνθρωπόν ποτε καὶ κύνα κατ' ὀρθὴν ὁδὸν ἰέναι ἡδέως διαλεγόμενους. καὶ νῆ Δία, εἰπεῖν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, θαυμασίως ὡς σοφὸν εἰ θηρίον, ὅστις τῇ τε ῥινὶ εὖ ἐπίστασθαι χρῆσθαι καὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὠσίν' ὥστε δεινὰ δὲ δοκεῖς πεπονθέναι ὅτι οὐ χεῖρας ἔχεις οἷας περ ἡμεῖς.*

Note *εἰπεῖν τὸν ἄνθρωπον*: the *oratio obliqua* is kept up from *φασὶ*, to show in a lively and natural way that it is all part of the story.

2. Oh! said the dog, you don't know then that we once had hands like yours, and how fortunate we were to get rid of them? You see even now some of us attended by foreigners with musical instruments, who walk upright and gain many drachma.

Just as in the last sentence, we had better keep up all through the piece the narrative *Oratio Obliqua* wherever we have the connecting bits between the speeches. Accordingly, we shall begin with *τὸν δὲ κύνα φάναί*. 'How fortunate' will be by Greek idiom *οἷα τῶν τύχῃ*, etc. 'Even now' is a little more humorous if slightly emphasised in the Greek fashion: *ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν ἔστιν οὗς . . .* It heightens the irony of treating the barrel-organ dogs as a survival of the old times when all had hands.

Again, 'attended by foreigners with musical instruments . . .,' where the men are treated as hangers-on of the dog, is well given in Greek by saying, 'with strangers and guitars.'

The whole will then be: τὸν δὲ κύνα, Οὐ γὰρ οἶσθα, φάναι, ὅτι εἵχομέν ποτε χεῖρας ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς, οὐδ' οἷα τινὲ τύχῃ ἀπηλλάγημεν; ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν ἔστιν οὗς ἰδοὺς ἂν ἡμῶν μετὰ ξένων καὶ κιθαρῶν πλανωμένους καὶ ὀρθοὺς ἑστῶτας, ὥστε πολλὰς δραχμὰς κερδαίνειν.

3. But this is how we came to lose our hands. Artemis, pleased with our skill in hunting, asked us what boon she should pray Zeus to give us.

'This,' meaning 'the following,' must be τοιόςδε, and may come last word. 'Pleased with our skill' will naturally be 'pleased with us as skilled.' There is nothing else in this short clause, and the Greek may run: τὰς δὲ χεῖρας ἀπεβάλομεν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἡ γὰρ Ἄρτεμις ἡδομένη ἡμῖν ὡς ἐμπείροις οὖσι τῆς θήρας ἐπήρετο ποῖον ἄρα δῶρον ἡμῖν παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς αἰτήσειεν.

4. We took some time to think: some were for asking that men should not be suffered to pick the bones quite so clean: others that it should not be lawful to hares and rabbits to run so fast: others that men should not choose such mean and foolish names for us.

The first clause will be more humorously grave if we use the word σκοπεῖν for 'think': it has an association of gravity from being regularly used for *philosophical inquiry*, and we may perhaps add the idiomatic turn ἄλλοι ἄλλα αἰρούμενοι, which gives precision to the ἐσκοποῦμεν. 'Were for asking' may be either literally, 'wished to ask,' or the imperfect, or simply, ἔδοξε or ἐδόκει. For the expression about 'picking the bones' we may simply say, 'scrape the meat off the bones,' τῶν ὀστέων τὰ κρέα ἀποκνᾶν. For 'so clean' we must use greater precision, and say 'carefully,' ἐπιμελῶς. Hares are λαγῶς, plural λαγῶ: and as there is no classical Greek word for 'rabbit,' we may use the highly convenient

words τοὺς τοιούτους, or τοιαῦτα θηρία. For the phrases 'lawful,' 'suffered,' 'should not,' which recur here, we should in Greek vary the idiom and say, μὴ ἐξεῖναι, νόμον εἶναι, ἀπειπεῖν, κελεῦσαι, παῦσαι, or numerous other expressions which give the sense.

Then the whole of 4 may be thus translated: ἡμεῖς δὲ τέως μὲν ἐσκοποῦμεν, ἄλλοι ἄλλα αἰρούμενοι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐδόκει μὴ ἐξεῖναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ κρέα τῶν ὀσῶν οὕτως ἐπιμελῶς ἀποκνᾶν, τοῖς δὲ βραδυτέρους δεῖν γενέσθαι τοὺς λαγῶς τε καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους, τοῖς δὲ παῦσαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μηκέτι φαῦλα ἡμῖν καὶ ἀνόητα θέσθαι ὀνόματα.

Note: τέως μὲν is idiomatic; it prepares for the decisive speech of the old dog afterwards.

5. But a prudent old dog said, Zeus is wiser than we are: let us ask him to take away from us whatever is most dangerous. Then suddenly our hands became paws, and henceforth we went upon four legs.

The chief thing to note is that the two clauses about Zeus would certainly in Greek—as one of them is the reason of the other—become one clause, the clause which gives the reason being subordinate to the main one. Again, 'a prudent old dog' is rather an *English* arrangement, the qualities being made part of the attribute to the substantive. In Greek we generally have a participial clause added, 'being old and prudent.' Further, in the sentence 'our hands became paws,' the Greek would most likely express it *personally* as usual: 'we had paws on,' ἀμφεβεβλήμεθα πόδας. Also the clause, 'and henceforth,' etc., being the *result* of the one before, would be turned as a consecutive sentence. The rest is easy, and we shall have the Greek as follows: τέλος δὲ κυῶν τις, γέρων ὦν καὶ ξυνετός, τὸν Δία ἡξίου αἰτεῖσθαι ὥς σοφώτερον ὄντα τῶν κυνῶν, ὃ, τι ἂν σφαλερώτατον

ἔχωμεν τοῦτο ἀφελεῖν. τότε δὲ εὐθὺς πόδας ἀντὶ χειρῶν ἀμφεβεβλήμεθα ὥστε τὸ λοιπὸν τετράποδες εἶναι.

Note (1) the convenient word ἀξιώω 'to call upon,' 'urge';—(2) the relative sentence ὅ,τι ἂν . . . ἔχωμεν put before the antecedent τοῦτο;—(3) the nominative attraction τετράποδες (after ὥστε) referring to the subject of the main verb.

6. Many of us grumbled: some even threatened Zeus to believe no more in him: but the god replied that he had done the best for us. If we had kept our hands we might in time have made as bad a use of them as men, and become as dishonest and wicked as they were.

The first clause is improved perhaps if we begin with the natural particle 'nevertheless,' οὐ μὴν ἀλλά. The comic threat to Zeus is also made more absurd if we insert the peculiar particle of formal and strong asseveration, ἦ μὴν. Again, the tale is made a little clearer if, instead of saying merely 'replied,' we say, what the story practically implies, 'consoled them by saying,' παρεμυθεῖτο φάσκων. Finally, the two verbs 'made as bad a use,' and 'become,' will naturally fall in Greek into one sentence, and be, one a participle and the other a verb.

Then the whole of 6 will be somewhat as follows: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ἐσχετλιαζόν τινες, καὶ εἰσὶν οἱ καὶ ἠπειλουν τῷ Διὶ ἦ μὴν μηκέτι νομιεῖν· ὁ δὲ παρεμυθεῖτο ἄριστα φάσκων βεβουλεύσθαι· εἰ γὰρ χεῖρας ἔτι εἴχομεν, τελευτώντας ἂν ὥσπερ οἱ ἄνθρωποι καταχρωμένους οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἂν ἀδίκους καὶ μιαροὺς γενέσθαι.

Note (1) idiom of τελευτῶν for 'in time,' 'at last';—(2) idiom of using nom. ἄνθρωποι after ὥσπερ where the thing compared is nevertheless accusative (cf. πόλιν δημοκρατουμένην ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτοί—Thucyd.): the double ἂν where the conditional clause is lengthy, to keep the conditional character well before the reader.

XVIII.—THE CAPTAIN AND THE PRIEST.

1. 'BUT this is the difficulty I find,' said the captain to the priest, 'how it is that you, educated people that you are, can believe such monstrous absurdities.'

2. 'Have you,' replied the priest, 'ever heard of such a thing as faith?'

'Many a time, but I prefer experience.'

'Nay,' said the other, 'have you ever been in these seas before?'

'Never.'

'Then, what guide have you to keep you clear of reefs?'

'I've got the best Admiralty charts,' said the captain, 'and my own eyes into the bargain.'

3. 'You have had no experience of these latitudes, or of the charts describing them, and yet you venture your very life upon them. What is this but faith?'

4. 'Let me ask a question, too. You know nothing about the seaworthiness of this craft, or the ability of her master. Why, you might have come aboard a regular pirate, for anything you know. When I come to think of it, I quite wonder at your rashness.'

5. 'Oh, with regard to that,' said the priest, laughing, 'I saw you had got safe so far, and so must be a pretty good sailor. And I have seen too many ships not to know when they are all right.'

6. 'There, now,' exclaimed the captain, in a tone of mock disappointment, 'I was going to give you credit for faith, and I find it's only experience after all.'

1. 'But this is the difficulty I find,' said the captain to the priest, 'how it is that you, educated people that you are, can believe such monstrous absurdities.'

We had better in this piece, where the conversation does not proceed as in a play, but is reported as in a story, follow those Platonic dialogues where the talk is similarly reported. The constantly recurring words, 'he said,' 'said the other,' 'the captain replied,' etc., are put in just here and there where it is better or clearer for the sense. Remember that the Greek allows the variety of using the older forms ἦ δ' ὅς, ὅς δ' ἔφη, for 'he said,' 'said he.' In the first clause we had better put 'priest' into the vocative, ὦ ἱερεῦ, after the Greek fashion, and make it part of the captain's address. 'Is my difficulty,' of course, will be personal, as usual: τοῦτ' ἀμυχανῶ, or ἀπορῶ. For 'educated people,' we may use the idiomatic turn εὖ ἔχειν παιδείας. 'Monstrous absurdities' will naturally be two adjectives, according to the common idiom: 'monstrous and absurd things,' ἄτοπα καὶ θαυμάσια.

The whole will then be as follows: περὶ δὲ τούτου, ἔφη ὁ ναύκληρος, ὦ ἱερεῦ, ἀμυχάνως ἔχω, πῶς ἄρα ὑμεῖς, εὖ ἔχοντες παιδείας, οὕτω θαυμάσια καὶ ἄτοπα ἀποδέχεσθε.

Note (1) ἄρα dramatic, as so often;—(2) ἀποδέχεσθαι idiomatic, for 'to accept a statement from another.'

2. 'Have you,' replied the priest, 'ever heard of such a thing as faith?'

'Many a time, but I prefer experience.'

'Nay,' said the other, 'have you ever been in these seas before?'

'Never.'

'Then, what guide have you to keep you clear of reefs?'

'I've got the best Admiralty charts,' said the captain, 'and my own eyes into the bargain.'

In the first question, perhaps, it is as well to put 'faith' strongly to the front, and say, 'have you ever heard about

faith that here is,' etc. . . . In the next speech, it would be rather idiomatic to say, 'and also about experience which is better.' 'In these seas' may be simply *ταύτη*. For 'guide' we may use not *ἡγεμών*, which would be a person, but some such phrase as 'sign of the voyage,' *τεκμήριον τοῦ πλοῦ*, or simply *ὠφέλεια*. For 'Admiralty charts,' we might say, 'the charts of the Trierarcha,' or simply 'the charts from home,' *ἡ δέλτος ἡ τῶν τριηράρχων*, or *ἡ οἰκοθεν*.

The most idiomatic phrase is 'and my own eyes into the bargain.' It would, perhaps, be possible to translate 'my own eyes' literally *ὀμματα*, or *ὀφθαλμοί*, but it would doubtless sound more natural to make the clause participial, and say, 'myself, too, not being blind,' or something like that: *καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ τυφλὸς ὢν*.

Then the whole of 2 will run as follows :

ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς, Οὐ γὰρ ἀκήκοας, ἔφη, τὴν πίστιν, ὡς ἔστι τι;

Πολλάκις, ἡ δ' ὅς· καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν, πολὺ ἀμείνω οὔσαν.

Ἀλλὰ μὲν, ἔφη, ἔστιν ὅτε ἤδη ταύτη ἐπλευσας;

Οὐπω.

Ποίαν οὖν ὠφέλειαν ἔχεις ὥστε μὴ πέτραις ἐμπροσθε;

Δέλτον ἔχω, ἡ δ' ὅς ὁ ναύκληρος, τὴν τῶν τριηράρχων ἡ πάντα ἐγγέγραπται, οὐδ' αὐτὸς δὴ τυφλὸς ὢν.

Note (1) the particles ;—(2) the carrying on of the construction in dialogue, e.g. *καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν*, scil. *ἀκήκοα*.

3. 'You have had no experience of these latitudes, or of the charts describing them, and yet you venture your very life upon them. What is this but faith?'

There is very little which requires notice here. To 'venture your life' is *περὶ ψυχῆς*, or *περὶ κεφαλῆς κινδυνεύειν*. In the last little clause, note the idiom *τί ἄλλο ἢ πιστεύεις*, where there is no verb with *τί ἄλλο*,

The sentence will then be: οὐκουν ἔμπειρος ὦν (ἔφη ὁ ἱερεύς) οὔτε τῆς ταύτης θαλάσσης οὔτε τῆς δέλτου ὁμως ταύτην ἔχων καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς πλεῖς κινδυνεύων· τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ πιστεύεις;

4. 'Let me ask a question, too. You know nothing about the seaworthiness of this craft, or the ability of her master. Why, you might have come aboard a regular pirate, for anything you know, when I come to think of it. I quite wonder at your rashness.'

The first clause may be done literally: or we may use the rather more common form of expression: 'you in your turn answer,' καὶ σὺ ἐν μέρει ἀποκρίνου. Next we notice that the speaker, after asking leave to put a question, does not put it strictly as a question, but merely expresses his surprise. In Greek we had better not allow this irregularity: but, having asked the man to answer, put the rest as a question. Perhaps something of this kind: 'how you dared to come aboard, though knowing nothing,' etc.

The second clause will then be of this sort: 'what prevents it from being a pirate ship?' τί κωλύει μὴ οὐ ληστικὴν εἶναι; 'When I come to think of it,' may be translated literally, ὅταν ἐνθυμῶμαι: or it will, perhaps, be enough to say, ἐμοὶ γοῦν, 'to my mind, at least.'

The whole will then be: καὶ γὰρ σὺ, ἔφη, ἐν μέρει ἀποκρίνου, πῶς οὐδὲν εἰδὼς οὔτ' εἰ ἱκανὸν τὸ πλοῖον οὔτε εἰ ἔμπειρος ὁ ναύκληρος ὁμως ἐςβῆναι ἐτόλμησας· τί γὰρ κωλύει ὅσον σέ γ' εἰδέναι μὴ οὐ ληστικὴν εἶναι; ὥστε ἐμοὶ γοῦν θαυμασιῶς ὥς τολμηρὸς εἶναι δοκεῖς.

Note (1) for 'seaworthy' it is enough to use the simple word 'adequate,' ἱκανός;—(2) the idiomatic *restrictive* infinitive, ὅσον σέ γ' εἰδέναι;—(3) the normal μὴ οὐ after τί κωλύει, which means 'nothing hinders.'

5. 'Oh, with regard to that,' said the priest, laughing, 'I saw you had got safe so far, and so must be a pretty good sailor. And I have seen too many ships not to know when they are all right.'

'With regard to that,' being logically elliptical, as it really means 'with regard to that I can answer you,' or 'with regard to that you need not be surprised,' had better in Greek be more clearly and fully expressed. 'Got safe so far,' is again rather idiomatic, and had best be turned according to the sense: 'had been voyaging safe for so long a time,' 'always returned safe from a voyage,' or something like that. 'Good sailor,' again, must be *interpreted*: 'skilled in sailing.' The last clause, too, is thoroughly vernacular, and must be translated according to the sense, which can easily be done in many ways.

We shall then have: τοῦτο μὲν δὴ, ἔφη γελάσας ὁ ἱερεὺς, μὴ θαύμαζε· γνοὺς γάρ σε αἰεὶ ἐκ πλοῦ σωθέντα ἐλογισάμην μετριῶς εἶναι ἔμπειρον. καὶ μὴν καὶ περὶ νεῶς εἰ εὖ ἔχει σαφῶς δῆπου ἐπίσταμαι, ὅστις γε τοσαύτας εἶδον.

Note in the last clause the order of the words is carefully arranged to bring out the real points.

6. 'There now,' exclaimed the captain, in a tone of mock disappointment, 'I was going to give you credit for faith, and I find it's only experience after all.'

The first exclamation being appropriate to a fit of vexation, had best be turned by the Greek 'alas.' For 'give you credit' (a commercial metaphor), we may substitute the more idiomatic Greek *μακαρίζειν*, properly 'to congratulate,' which takes the genitive. The last little phrase, 'and I find it's only experience after all,' requires a thoroughly Greek usage to render: *ἦν ἄρα*—where the imperfect implies that the fact was so from the beginning: the *ἄρα* conveys that one has only recently become aware of it.

Then the last sentence will come out like this: ὁ δὲ ναύκληρος ὥσπερ δυσχεραίνων δὴ, Οἶμοι, ἔφη, ὥς ἡμελλον μακαρίζειν σε τῆς πίστεως· τὸ δ' ἦν ἄρα οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἐμπειρία.

XIX.—*FRIENDS' VERSES*—(BOSWELL).

1. *Miss Reynolds*.—And what did you think of the poem?

Johnson.—Why, it was very well for a young miss's verses: that is to say, compared with excellence, nothing: but very well for the person who wrote them. I am vexed at being shown verses in that manner.

2. *Miss Reynolds*.—But if they should be good, why not give them hearty praise?

Johnson.—Why, madam, because I have not then got the better of my bad humour from having been shown them. You must consider, madam, beforehand, they may be bad as well as good. Nobody has a right to put another under such a difficulty, that he must either hurt the person by telling the truth, or hurt himself by telling what is not true.

3. *Boswell*.—A man often shows his writings to people of eminence, to obtain from them, either from their good-nature, or from their not being able to tell the truth firmly, a commendation of which he may afterwards avail himself.

4. *Johnson*.—Very true, sir. Therefore, the man who is asked by an author, what he thinks of his work, is put to the *torture*, and is not obliged to speak the truth: so that what he says is not considered as his opinion: yet he hath said it, and cannot retract it: and this author, when mankind are hunting him with a canister at his

tail, can say, 'I would not have published had not Johnson, or Reynolds, or Musgrave, or some other good judge commended the work.'

1. *Miss Reynolds*.—And what did you think of the poem?

Johnson.—Why, it was very well for a young miss's verses: that is to say, compared with excellence, nothing: but very well for the person who wrote them. I am vexed at being shown verses in that manner.

In the first clause, note that the Greek idiom is quite different from the English in two points: viz., 'the writings' would be the subject, and 'seem' instead of 'think' would be the principal verb: and, secondly, the idea of 'poem' would not come as a noun, but would be thrown into a verb: thus the clause would be turned, 'how did they seem to you to have been written?' or, actively, 'how did she seem to you to have written them?'—to write being *ποιεῖν*, used technically. In the next sentence, note the idiom 'for a young miss's verses.' This is done in the Greek with *ὥς*. The real difficulty is with the next clause: 'compared with excellence:' the English is so abstract. Perhaps the most natural and simple way in Greek would be to say, 'the poem *in itself* is worth nothing: but *in relation to* the powers of her who wrote,' etc. . . . where 'in relation to' is *κατὰ*, with accusative. The last clause may be done literally: or we may say simply, 'to have to read.' Then we shall get for the whole:

P. πῶς οὖν ἐδόκει σοὶ ταῦτα πεποιηκέναι;

I. πάνυ καλῶς, ὥς νεάνις· λέγω δέ, αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ μέλος οὐδενὸς ἄξιον, κατὰ δὲ τὴν φύσιν τῆς ποιούσης κάλλιστον. τὸ δὲ τοιαῦτα δεῖν ἀναγνῶναι λυπηρόν.

2. *Miss Reynolds*.—But if they should be good, why not give them hearty praise?

Johnson.—Why, madam, because I have not then got the better of my bad humour from having been shown them. You must consider, madam, beforehand, they may be bad as well as good. Nobody has a right to put another under such a difficulty, that he must either hurt the person by telling the truth, or hurt himself by telling what is not true.

In the first clause, there is a slight obscurity about the word 'then': it means at the time when the verses are shown to him: and in the Greek I think it would be better to make this clear: it can be done by simply saying *ὅταν δείξῃ*, without any great waste of words.

In the second clause, there is another expression which wants to be made a little clearer, namely, 'beforehand, they may be bad as well as good': the neatest way is to say, 'I don't yet know if they are . . .' In the last clause, there is a slight ambiguity in the word 'hurt,' which in its first use means 'to give pain to,' and in its second use means 'to wrong.' We might possibly use *λυπεῖν* for both: or, as would perhaps be better, use 'pain' for the first, and 'wrong,' or 'do wrong,' for the other. The rest is easy, and we shall get for the whole:

P. *ἐὰν δὲ εὖ ἔχῃ, πῶς οὐ προθύμως ἐπαινεῖς;*

I. *ὅταν γὰρ δείξῃ, οὐπω δὴ πέπauμαι δυσχεραίνων εἰ δεῖ ἀναγνῶναι· ἐνθυμητέον γάρ, ὦ φίλη, ὅτι οὐπω οἶδα εἰ καλῶς ἔχει ἢ μή. οὐδὲ δίκαιός ἐστιν οὐδεὶς ἐς τοιαύτην ἀπορίαν ἕτερον καταστήσαι, ὥστε ἀνάγκην εἶναι ἢ ἀληθὴ λέγοντα ἐκείνῳ λυπῆσαι, ἢ αὐτὸν ἀδικεῖν ψευδόμενον.*

Note (1) *εἰ* after *δυσχεραίνω* (emotion verb);—(2) *ἢ μή*: after *εἰ* 'whether' we may use either *ἢ οὐ* or *ἢ μή*.

3. *Boswell*.—A man often shows his writings to people of eminence, to obtain from them, either from their good-nature, or from their not being able to tell the truth firmly, a commendation of which he may afterwards avail himself.

'Good-nature' in this passage is exactly the Greek *εὐήθεια*, which implies the sort of good-nature which is half way to folly. 'To tell the truth firmly,' may be *καρτερεῖν ἀληθεύων*, or *ἀληθῆ λέγειν καὶ μὴ ἀποκνεῖν*. 'To obtain a commendation' is, of course, English artificiality: we must (according to the principles often enunciated) take the sentence the other way up, and make the 'people of eminence' the subject, and the verb simply 'praise.' The only difficulty then left is with the words, 'of which he may afterwards avail himself': and this had better be a new sentence: 'then he himself may use the praise.' The whole will then be:

B. *πολλάκις γὰρ συμβαίνει ὥστε τοῖς σοφοῖς τινὰ ἀ ἐποίησεν δεῖξαι, ἵνα ἡ δι' εὐήθειαν, ἢ μὴ πολμῶντες καρτερεῖν ἀληθεύοντες, ἐπαινέσωσιν, εἴτα αὐτὸς τῷ ἐπαίνῳ χρῆται.*

Note the convenient *συμβαίνει ὥστε*.

4. *Johnson*.—Very true, sir. Therefore, a man who is asked by an author what he thinks of his work, is put to the *torture*, and is not obliged to speak the truth: so that what he says is not considered as his opinion: yet he has said it, and cannot retract it: and this author, when mankind are hunting him with a canister at his tail, can say, 'I would not have published had not Johnson, or Reynolds, or Musgrave, or some other good judge commended the work.'

The first part had better be done in a more simple manner than the English, by saying: 'If the writer ask,' etc. In

the next sentence there is a catch, in the words 'he is put to the torture, and is,' etc., being really a concealed metaphor. The real logical meaning is: 'He is like a man who is tortured, and is therefore not obliged,' etc. We had better say shortly, 'it is open to him as though being tortured . . . ' 'Not considered as his opinion' is again catchy and very idiomatic: the Greeks would say rather, 'we must not think he is speaking what he really thinks,' or something like that. In the next clause, 'to retract' has no regular equivalent: but we find a metaphorical expression in Plato, viz., *ἀναθέσθαι*, which means literally 'to take back a move' at draughts—a game which was rather a favourite with the Athenians: this word may therefore be used. 'Hunting with a canister' is a highly picturesque expression, of course, taken from the familiar sight of the village dog with a pack of young ruffians behind him: in Greek we must either put out the metaphor at full length into a simile, or give some equivalent: I think that, perhaps, it will suffice to say, 'pursued with shouting and cries.' For 'to publish,' we find in Plato the verb *ἐκφέρειν*. For the names of the various great literary men, use naturally corresponding literary names of Greeks.

There is no further difficulty, and the whole will be:

I. ἀληθῆ λέγεις. ἐὰν τοίνυν ἐρωτᾷ τινα ὁ ποιητής, Πῶς ἄρα δοκεῖ αὐτῷ πεποιῆσθαι, ἔξεστι δῆπου ἐκείνῳ ὥσπερ στρεβλουμένῳ ὑποστείλασθαι, οὐδὲ τὸν ἐπαινοῦντα τὸ δόξαν λέγειν νομιστέον· καίτοι ὁ μὲν οὐ δύναται ἅπερ ἔλεξεν ἀναθέσθαι, ὁ δὲ ποιητής, ὅταν καταγελῶσιν ἀνθρώποι ὥσπερ εἰ βοῇ καὶ κραυγῇ διώκοντες, ἀπολογεῖσθαι δὴ ἔχει, ὥς οὐκ ἄρα ἐξέφερεν ἂν ἃ πεποίηκεν, εἰ μὴ Σωκράτης ἐπήνεσεν ἢ Ἀγάθων ἢ ἄλλος τις τῶν ἱκανῶν διαγινώωναι.

Note (1) the dramatic particles all through;—(2) *ὑποστέλλομαι*, literally, 'to furl the sails,' a vivid and idiomatic metaphor for concealing or suppressing the truth.

XX.—REVELATIONS—(SWIFT).

1. HERE I discovered the roguery or ignorance of those who pretend to write anecdotes or secret history; who send so many kings to their graves with a cup of poison; will repeat the discourse between a prince and chief minister, where no witness was by; unlock the thoughts and cabinets of ambassadors and secretaries of state; and have the perpetual misfortune to be mistaken. 2. Here I discovered the true causes of many events that have surprised the world. A general confessed in my presence that he had got a victory purely by force of cowardice and ill-conduct; and an admiral, that for want of proper intelligence, he beat the enemy to whom he intended to betray the fleet. 3. Three kings protested to me that in their whole reign they never did once prefer any person of merit, unless by mistake, or treachery of some minister in whom they confided: neither would they do it if they were to live again: and they showed, with great strength of reason, that the royal throne could not be supported without corruption, because that positive, confident, restive temper which virtue infused into a man was a perpetual clog to public business. 4. I had the curiosity to inquire, in a particular manner, by what methods great members had procured to themselves high titles and prodigious estates. A great number of persons concerned were called up; and, upon a very slight examination, discovered such a scene of infamy, that I cannot reflect upon it without some seriousness. 5. Perjury, oppression, subornation, fraud, pandarism, and the like infirmities, were among the

most excusable arts they had to mention : and for these I made, as it was reasonable, great allowance. 6. But when some confessed that they owed their greatness and wealth to debauchery ; others to the betraying of their country or their prince ; more, to the perverting of justice, in order to destroy the innocent ; I hope I may be pardoned if these discoveries inclined me a little to abate of that profound veneration, which I am naturally apt to pay to persons of high rank, who ought to be treated with the utmost respect due to their sublime dignity, by us their inferiors.

1. Here I discovered the roguery or ignorance of those who pretend to write anecdotes or secret history ; who send so many kings to their graves with a cup of poison ; will repeat the discourse between a prince and chief minister, where no witness was by ; unlock the thoughts and cabinets of ambassadors and secretaries of state ; and have the perpetual misfortune to be mistaken.

In the structure there is nothing to alter of any great importance : the playful form of expression by which the man who describes the murder of kings is said to 'send them to their graves,' being quite as possible in the elegant irony of Greek as in the more solemn jesting of the original English.

As to the phrases : 'the roguery or ignorance' will naturally be done by an indirect sentence,—'how ignorant and wicked they are.' 'Unlock the thoughts and cabinets' is perhaps the hardest phrase to turn satisfactorily. We may say, *διαπτύσσουν*, 'unfold them,' *ὡς τοιαῦτα γράφοντας ἢ ἐνθυμουμένους* 'as writing or thinking so-and-so ;' the rather poetic and unusual word *διαπτύσσω*, 'to unfold,' giving a good point to the irony. Care must be taken in the last line to give the irony in the phrase 'have the perpetual misfortune to be mistaken.' Perhaps we may say : 'always somehow miss the truth.'

The whole of 1 then will be something of this kind: Ταῦτα δὲ σκοπῶν ἔγνω δὴ ὡς ἀμαθεῖς ἢ ἄδικοί εἰσιν ὅσοι τὰ κρυφῇ γενόμενα καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς λεληθότα ἀξιούσι δηλῶσαι· οἵτινες τῶν μὲν βασιλέων ἐνίους φαρμάκῃ ἀποκτινύουσιν, ἕτερον δὲ διηγοῦνται ὅσα τῷ συμβούλῳ μόνος μόνῃ διελέγετο, πρέσβεις δὲ καὶ ἄρχοντας διαπτύσσουσιν ὡς τὸ καὶ τὸ ἐνθυμουμένους ἢ γράφοντας· καὶ πάντα δὴ ταῦτα πράσσοντες ὁμῶς τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἀεὶ πως ὑπολείπονται.

Note (1) the Platonic form ἀποκτινύουσι;—(2) the idiom μόνος μόνῃ, for a *l'été-à-l'été*;—(3) the idiom τὸ καὶ τό for 'so-and-so.'

2. Here I discovered the true causes of many events that have surprised the world. A general confessed in my presence that he had got a victory purely by force of cowardice and ill-conduct; and an admiral that for want of proper intelligence, he beat the enemy to whom he intended to betray the fleet.

In the first sentence the clearness is improved if we adopt the common device of putting the relative sentence first, 'what things the people wonder at having happened, of those,' etc. The clause about the general offers no particular difficulty; 'ill-conduct' means, I suppose, want of the proper care and skill, for which the word *ἄνοια* will do; in the last clause, the phrase 'for want of proper intelligence' means, I suppose, that the scouts or messengers had neglected to deliver their tidings at the proper time, or something of that sort. We may say *κατασκόπων ἀμελείᾳ*, or *ἀμαρτίᾳ*, or use genitive absolute. It also, perhaps, seems that the irony at the end of the passage would be improved if we turned it thus: 'not only did not betray the fleet . . . but not even were beaten . . .'

The whole will then be: ἐγὼ δέ, ἅπερ θαυμάζουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι γενόμενα, τούτων οὐκ ὀλίγων τὴν ἀληθῆ αἰτίαν ἐξεύρον. ὡμολόγησε γάρ μοι στρατηγός τις δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο

νικῆσαι ἢ δειλὴν καὶ ἄνοιαν· εἶτα δὲ ναύαρχός τις κατα-
σκόπων ἔφη ἀμελεία μὴ ὅτι προδοῦναι (ὥς διανοεῖτο) τοῖς
πολεμίοις τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἡσσηθῆναι.

Note the idiom *μὴ ὅτι*, which (with negative following) means 'so far from doing . . . he did not even . . .'

3. Three kings protested to me that in their whole reign they never did once prefer any person of merit, unless by mistake, or treachery of some minister in whom they confided: neither would they do it if they were to live again; and they showed, with great strength of reason, that the royal throne could not be supported without corruption, because that positive, confident, restive temper which virtue infused into a man was a perpetual clog to public business.

The emphatic phrase, 'never once in their whole reign,' it is perhaps enough to render by the strong word, *μηδεπώποτε*. 'Prefer' is of course technical, and requires interpretation; it means, 'appoint to office,' *ἐς ἀρχὴν καταστήσαι*. 'Of merit' will in Greek be the more direct and simple 'of worthy persons,' *τῶν ἀξίων*. Finally, the abstracts, 'by mistake' and 'by treachery,' will of course be done in the personal way as usual. In the latter half of the passage we may perhaps take one Greek word for 'to show with great strength of reason,' namely, *διίσχυρίζεσθαι*, which means 'to insist on,' 'to strongly show'; or if this does not appear to be sufficiently near the English, then we may say, 'they affirmed, saying persuasive things,' or something of that sort. 'Throne . . . be supported,' must of course be done more plainly and without metaphor. Again, 'without corruption' must be personal: 'without the people being corrupted.' The last clause of all requires a complete recasting, simply because the whole structure of it is based on the English *abstract* and *personifying* method of expressing ideas. There are naturally many possible ways of doing this satisfactorily, one of which is to say, 'owing to virtue men grow so . . . that

they are a hindrance to . . .’ Perhaps the greatest difficulty is to get the right words to express the carefully chosen and highly ironical and effective epithets, ‘positive,’ ‘confident,’ ‘restive.’ I suggest, as rendering the spirit of these words, the adjectives *ὀξεῖς, αὐτάρκεις, θυμοειδεῖς*.

We shall then have dealt with the chief difficulties, and the Greek may stand as follows: *τέλος δὲ τρεῖς βασιλεῖς διώμοσαν ἢ μὴν μηδεπώποτε μηδένα τῶν γε ἀξίων ἐς ἀρχὴν καταστήσαι, εἰ μὴ ἄκοντες ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων οἷς ἐπετέτραπτο ἐξαπατῶμενοι· μηδὲ οὖν τὸ λοιπὸν εἰ ἀναβιῶεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἷόν τ’ ἔφασαν εἶναι (πιθανὰ δὲ λέγοντες ταῦτα) καθεστάναι τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ διεφθαρμένων τῶν πολλῶν διὰ γὰρ ἀρετὴν οὕτως ὀξεῖς καὶ αὐτάρκεις καὶ θυμοειδεῖς γίγνεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὥστε ἐμποδισθῆναι σφόδρα τὰ πράγματα.*

Note (1) *ἢ μὴν* particle after verb of swearing;—(2) *μὴ*, not *οὐ*, with the swearing or strongly denying verb.

4. I had the curiosity to inquire, in a particular manner, by what methods men had procured to themselves high titles and prodigious estates. A great number of persons concerned were called up; and, upon a very slight examination, discovered such a scene of infamy, that I cannot reflect upon it without some seriousness.

In this sentence, the phrase ‘had the curiosity’ may be done more simply by saying ‘I resolved.’ I should also simplify in the remainder of the sentence by getting rid of ‘high titles’ and ‘prodigious estates,’ and substituting ‘rich’ and ‘famous.’ In the next clause the phrase is a little clearer if we keep strictly to the *real agent*, ‘I called up and examined a great number,’ etc. The real difficulty is with the last sentence, ‘discovered such a scene of infamy that I cannot reflect upon it without some seriousness.’ We have first the very abstract phrase, *scene of infamy*; in the

Greek we should, I think, make it all more *personal*, as usual. It will then become, 'were found to be so infamous that,' etc. In the last clause we must at all costs get the irony expressed, or all the real effectiveness is lost. To be serious is *σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθαι*, and I think we may here say, *τῷ ὄντι σπουδὴν τινα ποιῶμαι ἐνθυμούμενος*, 'I feel it to be rather serious.' The only thing that remains is, 'upon a very slight examination,' and this we may even exaggerate in the Greek; we may say, 'before we even had been asked,' *πρὶν καὶ ἐρωτᾶσθαι*.

There is nothing else important, and the whole will then be: *καὶ μὴν καὶ ἀκριβέστερόν μοι ἔδοξε περὶ τῶν πλουσίων καὶ ἐλλογίμων πυθέσθαι τίνα δὴ τρόπον ἐς τοσοῦτον ἤξηνται ὥστε συχνούς καλέσας ἐξήλεγχον· οἱ δὲ πρὶν καὶ ἐρωτᾶσθαι οὕτω μιαιοὶ καὶ ἄτοποι ἐφάνησαν ὄντες, ὥστε τῷ ὄντι σπουδὴν τινα ποιῶμαι ἐνθυμούμενος*. Or, if *πρὶν καὶ ἐρωτᾶσθαι* seems a little too strong, we may say simply *εὐθὺς ἐρωτώμενοι*.

5. Perjury, oppression, subornation, fraud, pandarism, and the like infirmities, were among the most excusable arts they had to mention, and for these I made, as was reasonable, great allowance.

This sentence wants (I think) more recasting than usual; the real antithesis is between the *more heinous offences* that follow in the next clause, and what he ludicrously professes to regard as the *more trifling errors* in this sentence; and while we must, I think, make the whole more personal, we shall have to make clear and prominent this antithesis. Then we shall have something like this: 'whatever more moderate sins they committed by perjuring themselves, injuring the weak,' etc., 'for these I naturally had great forgiveness.' Of the three words, 'subornation,' etc., the three Greek words *ὑφίημι, παρακρούειν, προαγωγεύειν* will probably help the translator.

There will then be no further difficulty, and we may say for the whole : *ὅσα μὲν γὰρ τῶν μετρίων ἔφασαν ἀμαρτάνειν, ἐπιорκοῦντες, τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς ἀδικοῦντες, προαγωγέουντες, παρακρούοντες, πονηροὺς ὑφιέντες, τὰ τοιαῦτα, τούτων ὡς εἰκός πολλὴν εἶχον ξυγγνώμην.*

6. But when some confessed that they owed their greatness and wealth to debauchery ; others to the betraying of their country or their prince ; more, to the perverting of justice, in order to destroy the innocent ; I hope I may be pardoned if these discoveries inclined me a little to abate of that profound veneration, which I am naturally apt to pay to persons of high rank, who ought to be treated with the utmost respect due to their sublime dignity, by us their inferiors.

In the first half of this long sentence I should advise the student to put the causes of the greatness and wealth well to the front, in the following way : ‘when some by debauchery, others by . . . others by . . . admitted they had become . . .,’ or something of that sort. The phrase ‘perverting of justice in order to destroy the innocent’ wants a little recasting to make it clearer and less allusive : say, ‘by having unjustly condemned the innocent for their destruction.’ Then we shall find no further difficulty down as far as the word ‘innocent.’ The real point is in the last half of the sentence to keep fully the irony. For ‘I hope I may be pardoned’ we have fortunately the special Greek idiom *οὐ νεμεσητὸν*, ‘it is no blame to me if . . .,’ which originally comes out of Homer but is used by Plato. As to the rest, the sentence is easier if we break it up as follows : ‘I was brought into such a state that I revered rather less the nobles . . . not but that (*οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ*, or *ὅμως*) I both am accustomed . . . and I think they are deserving . . .’

Then we have solved all the practical difficulties, and we may write for the whole sentence the Greek as follows :

ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν μισητῖα, οἱ δὲ τῷ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα προδοῦναι, οἱ δὲ τῷ ἀδίκως τῶν ἀναιτίων καταγνῶναι ἐπὶ διαφθορᾷ, πλοῦτον καὶ δόξαν ὡμολόγουν κτήσασθαι, οὐ δὴπου νεμεσητὸν εἰ τοιαῦτα μαθὼν οὕτω διετέθην ὥστε ἡττόν τι τοὺς εὐγενεῖς σέβεσθαι ἐθέλειν οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ φύσει εἴωθα αὐτοὺς πάντων μᾶλλον τιμᾶν, καὶ ἀξίους οἶμαι εἶναι ὡς ὑψίστους ὄντας ὑφ' ἡμῶν τῶν φαυλοτέρων ἀεὶ τοιαῦτα τιμᾶσθαι.

EXERCISES.

[The numbers of Sections refer to the Hints on Structure and Idiom.]

1.

BUT through civil discord,¹ Bericus—what he was further is not known—with the others of his party, flying to Rome, persuaded Claudius the Emperor to an invasion.² Claudius, now Consul the third time, and desirous to do something whence he might gain the honour of a triumph, at the persuasion³ of these fugitives, whom the Britons demanding he had denied to render, and they for that cause had³ denied further amity with Rome, makes choice of this island for his province, and sends before him Plautius, the Praetor, with this command: If the business grew⁴ difficult, to give him notice. Plautius with much ado persuaded the legions to move out of Gallia, murmuring⁵ that now they must be put to make war beyond the world's end, for so they counted Britain; and what welcome Julius the Dictator had found there doubtless they had heard. At last prevailed with, and hoisting sail from three separate ports, lest their landing⁶ should in any one place be resisted, meeting cross winds, they were cast back and disheartened, till in the night a meteor shooting flames from the east, and, as they fancied, directing their course, they took heart⁶ again to try the sea, and without opposition landed.

¹ § 2.

² § 1.

³ § 30.

⁴ § 9.

⁵ § 6.

⁶ § 13.

2.

The island, not yet Britain, but Albion, was in a manner desert and inhospitable; kept only by a remnant of giants, whose excessive force¹ and tyranny had consumed the rest. Them Brutus destroys, and to his people divides the land, which with some reference to his own name he thenceforth calls Britain. To Corineus, Cornwall, as we now call it, fell by lot; the rather by him liked, for that the hugest giants, in rocks and caves, were said to lurk there; which kind of monsters to deal with was his old care and exercise.¹ And here with leave² bespoken to recite a grand fable, though dignified by our best poets: While Brutus, on a certain festival day solemnly kept on that shore, where he first landed, was with the people in great jollity and mirth, a crew of these savages breaking in upon them, began on a sudden to try² another sort of game than at such a meeting was expected. But at length by many hands overcome, Goemagog, the hugest, is reserved alive that with him Corineus might try his strength; whom, in a wrestle, the terrible giant catching aloft, with a parlous hug broke three of his ribs, nevertheless the other, heaving him up by main force, and bearing him on his shoulders to the next high rock, threw him headlong, all shattered, into the sea, and left his name on the cliff, called ever after The Giant's Leap.

¹ § 2.² § 16.

3.

Burghley reminded her of her correspondence¹ with the Catholics. She adhered to her point, that she had done no more than she had always warned the Queen she would do, —throw² herself on the support of the Catholic powers. She confined³ her denial to the conspiracy to assassinate, and no question could shake the constancy with which she clung to it; no cross-question could entangle her in contradiction. She still solemnly declared that she knew nothing of the plot. So the first day closed. She had produced some effect, but probably less than she had expected. When the court resumed next morning she was warmer and more passionate. She complained that her reputation was argued away by the⁴

wretched inferences of a few lawyers. Princes anointed were not (she seemed to think) like common mortals, and the word of a prince was not, if solemnly given, to be lightly disregarded. The cause was so handled, she said, that she was made to descend from her proper dignity. She had⁵ to appear like a common criminal in a court of justice. The object she well knew was to exclude her from the succession, but she was more willing to pray for the people than to hurt the meanest of them, and she used words which, if they meant anything, meant that she was still open to conversion. It was impossible that either friends or foes could attach any credence to this last hint.

¹ §§ 3, 4.² § 9.³ § 5.⁴ §§ 12, 13.⁵ § 15.

4.

This victory obtained, and a sufficient strength left in the town, Brutus, with Antigonus, the king's brother, and his friend Anacletus, whom he had taken in the fight, returns with the residue of his friends in the thick woods, while the enemy with all speed re-collecting, besieges the town. Brutus to relieve his men, who earnestly called him, distrusting the sufficiency of his force, bethinks himself of this policy: Calls to him Anacletus, and threatening instant death else, enjoins him that he should go at the second hour of the night to the Greekish League, and tell the guards he had brought Antigonus by stealth out of prison, to a certain woody vale, unable, through the weight of his fetters, to move him further, entreating them to come speedily and fetch him in. Anacletus, to save both himself and his friend, swears this, and at a fit hour sets on alone towards the camp; is met,¹ examined, and at last unquestionably known. To whom great profession of fidelity² first made, he frames his tale, as had been taught him; and they, now fully assured, with a credulous rashness leaving their stations, fared accordingly by the ambush that there awaited them. Forthwith Brutus divided his men into three parts, leads on in silence to the camp, commanding first each part at a several place to enter, and forbear execution³ till he with his squadron, possessed of the king's tent, gave signal by the trumpet.

¹ § 13.² § 2.³ § 4.

5.

His two sons Belinus and Brennus, contending about the crown,¹ by decision of friends came at length to an accord: Brennus to have the north of Humber, Belinus the sovereignty of all. But the younger, not longer so contented, that he, as they whispered² to him, whose valour had so often repelled the invasions of others, should now be subject to his brother, upon new designs sails into Norway, enters league and affinity with Elsing that king, which Belinus perceiving in his absence dispossesses him of all the north. Brennus with a fleet of Norwegians makes toward Britain, but encountered³ by Guthlack the Danish king who laying claim to his bride, pursued him on sea, his haste was retarded, and he bereft of his spouse, who from the fight, by a sudden tempest, was with the Danish king driven into Northumberland and brought to Belinus. Brennus nevertheless, finding means to collect his navy, lands in Albania, and gives battle to his brother in the wood Calaterium; but, losing the day, escaped with one single ship into Gaul. Meanwhile the Dane upon his own offer¹ to become tributary, sent home with his new prize, Belinus returns his thoughts to the administering of justice and the perfecting of his father's law. And to explain what highways might enjoy⁴ the aforesaid privileges, he caused to be drawn out and paved four main roads to the utmost length and breadth of the island.

¹ § 1.² §§ 6, 20 (b).³ § 13.⁴ § 10.

6.

At last, failing through age, he determines to bestow his daughters, and so among them to divide his kingdom. Yet, first to try which of them loves him best, he resolves a simple resolution¹ to ask them solemnly in order, and which of them should profess largest, her to believe. Gonorill, the eldest, apprehending too well her father's weakness, makes answer, invoking heaven that she loved him above her soul. Therefore, quoth the old man, overjoyed, since thou so

honourest my declining age, to thee and the husband whom thou shalt choose I give the third part of my realm. So fair a speeding² for a few words soon uttered, was to Regan, the second, ample instruction what to say. She, on the same demand, spares no protesting; and the gods must³ witness that otherwise to express her thoughts she knew not, but that she loved him above all creatures; and so receives an equal reward with her sister. But Cordellia, the youngest, though hitherto best beloved, and now before her eyes the rich and easy present hire⁴ of a little easy soothing, yet moves not from the solid purpose of a sincere and virtuous answer. Father, said she, my love toward you is as my duty bids; What should a father seek?⁵ what should a child promise more?

¹ § 17.² §§ 1, 2, 13.³ § 15.⁴ §§ 1, 9.⁵ § 34.

7.

At night, when they were gone to rest, Mackoneil beset the house wherein Macklein and his people lay with a number of men, and called him to come forth and drink; he answered,¹ that of drink they had too much, and that it was then time to rest. Yet it is my will, said Mackoneil, that ye arise and come forth. Macklein hearing this began to suspect some bad dealing,² and dressing himself and his men, did open the door; where, perceiving a company in arms, and Mackoneil with his sword drawn, he asked what the matter was, and if he meant to break his faith. No; faith, said he, I gave none, and must now have an account of you and your friends for the wrong I have received. Macklein had taken his nephew, a little child, to bed with him, and being put to his defence,³ kept the child on his left shoulder in manner of a targe. The child cried for mercy to his uncle: wherewith Mackoneil, moved, did promise to spare his life, providing he would render his weapons, and become his prisoner. Macklein, feeling no better,⁴ was content, and thereupon was conveyed with some keepers to another house. All the rest (two excepted) upon the like promise rendered themselves.

¹ § 21.² § 3.³ § 5.⁴ § 18.

8.

Of all the conspirators, Fenius Rufus was the one whose fate deserved the least pity. As prefect of the guards, he contrived adroitly to place himself on the tribunal by the side of Tigellinus, and sought to screen¹ himself from inquiry² by the violence with which he judged his own associates. Denounced at last by one of the victims,³ he turned pale, stammered, and was unable to defend himself. The accused were speedily convicted.⁴ Doomed without mercy by this domestic inquisition, they were allowed to choose their mode of death, an indulgence which spared the Government the odium of a public sentence.⁵ When escape was impossible, the culprits suffered with the callous fortitude which had become habitual with their class⁵ under the terrors of the imperial tyranny. If they deigned to flatter the Prince with their last breath, it was for the sake of their children. Lucan died with a firmness which, while he still hoped for pardon, is said to have failed him; and when his veins were opened in the bath, found consolation in reciting some of his own verses, descriptive of a monstrous death by bleeding at every pore.

¹ § 9. ² § 1. ³ § 3. ⁴ § 21. ⁵ § 5.

9.

The fight¹ began with small shot² on both sides, but presently was continued by the cannon,² the English endeavouring to beat the Scots out of the church² steeple, the Scots to beat the English out of the sconces; by that time it was low-water, the Scots had made a breach with their cannon in the greater sconce, where Colonel Lansford commanded, and divers were slain, which struck such a fear into the soldiers, who had but a slight acquaintance with the terrible face of war, and these frightful shapes of death, that, notwithstanding all the persuasions and entreaties of that brave commander, they basely threw down their arms and deserted the service; they also who maintained the other breast-work retreating from it, the Scots who, from the rising ground, perceived their disorder, immediately commanded a body of horse under Sir

Thomas Hope, and the regiments of foot of Crawford, Lindsey, and Lowdon to pass the river, and at the same time Lesley sorely galled the King's horse, who were drawn up in the meadow.

¹ § 13.

² § 25.

10.

The very neighbourhood of an enemy seemed to have been forgotten—so entirely the commonest precautions were neglected. A rough lesson¹ brought them to a recollection of their position. On the 14th of April² a party of French, disguised as women, entered the English works, and walked over them and round them, they killed a sentinel, who had perhaps³ discovered them, and carried off his head as an ornament to Leith church.² The next day the garrison poured out in a swarm, cut up the pioneers in the trenches, spiked the cannon, and took Sir Maurice Berkeley—who was the first to come to the rescue—prisoner. Arthur Grey, Captain Vaughan, and others, each as they could collect their companies, rushed to the front in time to save the guns;² but the French would not retreat till half the English army was brought into the field. It was one of the hottest skirmishes⁴ ever seen.

¹ §§ 1, 13.

² § 25.

³ § 20.

⁴ § 2.

11.

Thus did they endeavour not only to prune the Prerogative,¹ but to cut it up by the roots,² and to establish themselves in a sovereign and boundless authority of sitting so long as they pleased themselves.

To effect this there was a necessity³ to amuse the nation with strange fears and jealousies of plots, conspiracies both domestic and foreign, and to draw the people into tumultuary heats and disorders⁴ after the example of Scotland, and thereby oblige the King to compliances with their unreasonable and ambitious demands. And the sequel will abundantly manifest that Mr. Pym, the great engineer⁴ of the faction, so long as he lived never wanted plots or tumults to usher in his great designs, two of which were now the death of

¹ § 3.

² § 11.

³ §§ 15, 2.

⁴ § 9.

Strafford, and the obtaining a bill⁵ for the sitting of the present Parliament till they should be dissolved by their own consent.

Of which the reader will receive a more full account in the second volume of these Collections, this having already risen to an unexpected bulk,⁶ whither, to avoid repetition, he is referred.

⁵ § 23.

⁶ § 12.

12.

His Majesty saw, and with an admirable patience supported these unjust procedures; but alas! he had the wolf by the ears, bitten while he held him, but worried if he let him go:¹ for there were now two armies in the kingdom, which² together with his former expenses in the northern expeditions, had plunged him into an irrecoverable debt, without the assistance of Parliamentary supplies; without money there was nothing to be done, the posture of his affairs appearing so ruinous, and no money was to be had but upon such terms as the faction pleased; one of which was the disvoting of the bishops:³ and whoever curiously observes the movement of affairs will see that the House of Commons,⁴ notwithstanding the compliment they made of inspecting his revenue, yet raised money by inches,⁴ and by the dilatory proceedings in the Scots' Treaty, who they might with half the expense have obliged to disband and return into their country, they still increased the King's necessities⁵ and the charge of the kingdom before they raised money to defray them.

¹ § 11.

² §§ 5, 13.

³ § 25.

⁴ § 9.

⁵ § 3.

13.

How infinitely this great Prince was abused and misrepresented to his subjects by these factious people in private, none can doubt who does but consider that even this speech was represented in public by the prints¹ so different both from his Majesty's words and sense, as if they had a design to prepare the mind of the nation for the belief of that plot of a design to bring up the armies to London, and to bring

over the Irish army, which was now hatching² and ready to be broached² to amuse the people. The weekly disperser of the intelligence which flew throughout the kingdom³ hath this passage:—That his Majesty told the two Houses, “For the Irish army, he hath entered into consultation about it, but could not yet well disband it, for divers reasons best known to himself. Whereas it is most evident that his Majesty put it to the two Houses to remove the difficulties about that disbanding, which he tells them he holds fit not only to wish it, but to show the way how it may conveniently be done, and expects their advice and assistance in it.”

¹ § 25.² § 6.³ § 17.

14.

This manner of arguing was displeasing to the nobles, and begat much heat¹ and many bitter replies on both sides. At length a principal senator called Otto Cracg stood up, and in great anger told the President of the City that the Commons neither understood nor considered the privileges of the nobility, who at all times had been exempted from taxes, nor the true condition of themselves, who were no other than slaves [the word in the Danish is “unfree”]; so that the best way was to keep within their own bounds, and acquiesce in such measures as ancient practice had warranted,¹ and which they were resolved to maintain. This word “slaves” put¹ all the burghers and clergy into disorder, causing a loud murmur² in the hall; which Manson, the President of the city of Copenhagen, and Speaker of the House of Commons, perceiving, and finding a fit occasion of putting in practice a design³ before concerted (though but weakly) between him and the bishop, in great choler rose out of his seat and swore an oath—“That the Commons were no slaves, nor would from thenceforth be called so by the nobility, which they should soon prove to their cost;” and thereupon breaking up the assembly in disorder, and departing out of the hall, was followed⁴ by all the clergy and burghers.

¹ § 14.² § 6.³ § 12.⁴ § 13.

15.

Cawnpore was alive¹ with all the ruffianism of the region. All these scoundrels took their turn at the pleasant² and comparatively safe² amusement of keeping up the fire on the English people behind the mud walls. Whenever a regular attack was made the assailants invariably came to grief.³ The little garrison, thinning³ in numbers every day, and almost every hour,⁴ held out with splendid obstinacy. The little population of women and children behind the entrenchments had no roof to shelter them from the fierce⁵ Indian sun. They cowered under the scanty shadow of the little walls, often at the imminent peril of the unceasing Sepoy bullets. The only water for their drinking was to be had from a single well, at which the guns⁴ of the assailants were unceasingly levelled. To go to the well and draw water became the task⁶ of self-sacrificing heroes, who might with better chances of safety have led a forlorn hope.⁷ The water which the fainting women and children drank might have seemed⁸ to be reddened by blood, for only at the price of blood was it ever obtained. It may seem a trivial detail, but there was not one spongel⁷ of water to be had for the purposes of personal cleanliness. The inmates of that ghastly garrison were dying like flies.⁷ One does not know which to call the greater: the suffering of the women or the bravery of the men.

¹ § 9. ² § 7. ³ § 16. ⁴ § 25. ⁵ § 7. ⁶ § 14. ⁷ § 16. ⁸ § 15.

16.

A strange experience occurred in the autumn of the year 1879.¹ A brother of mine had been from home for three or four days, when, one afternoon, at half-past five¹ (as nearly as possible), I was astonished to hear my name called out very distinctly. I so clearly recognised my brother's voice that I looked all over the house for him, but not finding him, and indeed knowing that he must be distant some forty miles, I ended by attributing the incident to a fancied delusion,² and

thought no more about the matter. On my brother's arrival home, however, on the sixth day, he remarked, amongst other things, that he had narrowly escaped an ugly² accident. It appeared that whilst getting out from a railway-carriage¹ he missed his footing, and fell along the platform; by putting out his hands quickly, he broke the fall⁴ and only suffered a severe shaking. "Curiously enough," he said, "when I found myself falling I called out your name." This did not strike me for a moment, but on asking him during what hour of the day this happened, he gave me the time, which I found corresponded exactly with the moment I heard myself called.

¹ § 23.² § 17.³ § 7.⁴ § 6.

17.

In the meantime an accident favoured¹ the designs of the Papal Court. An open quarrel with Spain resulted² from an insignificant circumstance. The Spanish ambassador at Rome was in the habit of leaving the city very often, at an early hour in the morning, upon shooting excursions, and had long enjoyed the privilege of ordering³ the gates to be opened for him at his pleasure. By accident or design he was refused permission, upon one occasion, to pass through the gates as usual. Unwilling to lose his day's sport, and enraged at what he considered⁴ an indignity, his excellency, by the aid of his attendants, attacked and beat the guard, mastered them, made his way out of the city, and pursued his morning's amusement.⁵ The Pope was furious, and Caraffe artfully inflamed his anger. The envoy⁶ was refused an audience, which he desired for the sake of offering explanations, and the train⁷ being thus laid, it was thought that the right moment had arrived for applying the fire-brand.⁷ The Cardinal went to Paris post-haste. He told the King that the Pope placed implicit reliance on his secret treaty with his Majesty, and that, considering the danger that threatened from Spain, the moment had come for claiming the benefit of the French King's protection.³

¹ § 14.² § 2.³ § 17.⁴ § 20.⁵ § 3.⁶ § 8.⁷ § 11.

18.

Something of these doings was known¹ to Cecil, and more was suspected. It was time that they should end,² and accident provided³ the means of ending them. It happened one day that de Quadra had occasion to send his confidential⁴ secretary on some matter of business to Cecil. Borghese—so the secretary was called—was the person who ciphered⁵ de Quadra's letters, and held the keys⁶ of his correspondence. He went over to the English Government and offered to betray all that he knew. Finding his position desperate, de Quadra looked his misfortune in the face.⁶ He went to Elizabeth, told her (with so worldly wise a person it was unnecessary to mince matters⁶) that he had spared the life of the man to prevent disturbance, and requested her to send him out of the realm. Elizabeth, who as yet was imperfectly informed about Borghese's revelations, said that she had every desire to gratify the bishop, but that she could not send a man away merely for revealing secrets of state to her own ministers. Two days after she sent him word that his servant was arrested, and that if he had any complaint to bring she was ready to hear it. He replied that he had not asked for the man's arrest, but for his expulsion. He discovered that his secretary was at large in the palace, and that Cecil was busy daily taking down his information. He demanded⁷ an audience again, and it was refused.

¹ § 13. ² § 15. ³ § 2. ⁴ § 7. ⁵ § 25. ⁶ § 9. ⁷ § 21.

19.

The bishop of Carthage was sensible that he should be singled out for one of the first victims,¹ and the frailty of nature tempted him² to withdraw himself, by secret flight, from the danger and honour of martyrdom; but, soon recovering that fortitude which his character required,³ he returned to his gardens, and patiently expected the ministers of death. Two officers of rank, who were intrusted with that commission, placed Cyprian between them in a chariot, and, as the Proconsul was not then at leisure, they conducted

him, not to a prison, but to a private house in Carthage, which belonged to one of them. An elegant supper was provided for the entertainment of the bishop, and his Christian friends were permitted for the last time to enjoy his society, whilst the streets were filled with a multitude of the faithful,⁴ anxious and alarmed at the approaching fate of their spiritual father.⁵ In the morning he appeared⁶ before the tribunal of the Proconsul, who, after informing himself of the name and situation of Cyprian, commanded him to offer sacrifice, and pressed him to reflect on the consequences⁷ of his disobedience. The refusal of Cyprian was firm and decisive.

¹ § 6. ² §§ 5, 14. ³ § 17. ⁴ § 25. ⁵ § 8. ⁶ § 13. ⁷ § 4.

20.

His life of early solitude engendered¹ those peculiar habits which occasionally clouded the lustre² of his shining abilities, and among other strange customs he acquired so unconquerable a habit of thinking aloud³ that his intimate friends used to say, in allusion to his two titles, that 'Dudley was speaking to Ward.' The ludicrous effect produced by these public meditations⁴ during his Majesty's cabinet councils became a principal cause of his retirement from office. On one occasion, when a gentleman obligingly took him home in his carriage, to avoid a shower of rain, he conversed diligently with himself during their progress, saying, 'I suppose he will expect me to ask him to dinner! I'm afraid it must be done.' His companion being fond of a jest, instantly commenced an accompaniment,⁵ muttering to himself quite audibly—'If he asks me to dinner, I shall certainly not go!' Upon hearing this, Lord Dudley laughed heartily, made an apology, and insisted on the invitation being both given and accepted,⁶ which accordingly it was.

¹ § 2. ² § 9. ³ § 18. ⁴ § 5. ⁵ § 16. ⁶ § 3.

21.

It required no small audacity¹ on the part of the Queen, when her harbours were the scene of outrages so unparalleled,² to send a minister to Madrid to settle her differences with the Spanish king. She calculated however on the notoriously³ extreme reluctance of Philip to enter on a quarrel with her. The unlicensed violences⁴ of her subjects, if he was without the courage to resent them, might increase his anxiety for a better understanding⁵ with her; and she probably expected that Philip would submit to any conditions which she might be pleased to dictate. She was herself uneasy at the possible consequences⁶ of her own behaviour to France. She trusted, perhaps,⁶ to Philip's alarm at the report of her intended marriage, and she may have hoped that he would meet her overtures with an open hand.⁷ She accordingly resolved to brazen⁸ it out, and sent an ambassador to Spain, just as if she was completely innocent of any responsibility⁹ for the piratical attacks of the English ships on the Spanish merchant vessels in the Channel. The King was naturally¹⁰ in the greatest perplexity; but remembering his father's views about the importance of the English alliance, he shut his eyes¹¹ and accepted the ambassador as if nothing had happened.

¹ § 13. ² § 12. ³ § 7. ⁴ § 2. ⁵ § 3. ⁶ § 20. ⁷ § 9. ⁸ § 16.
⁹ § 17 ¹⁰ § 20 (*f.*). ¹¹ § 6.

22.

The strictness of the watch over Mary Stuart was no sooner relaxed than her jailer, who, though himself an Englishman, was strongly inclined toward the Catholic Queen, and would have strained a point¹ to do her any honourable service, found her again busy at the old bad work.² She was detected once more trying to bribe his servants, and to smuggle letters out of the prison to her friends abroad. The net had again to be drawn tighter.³ Her people were briefly told,⁴ in the pregnant style of those times,⁵ that if there was more of such work they would be sent straight to London to be hanged. Mary, thus baffled in her plottings, fell back upon her stormy manners and impotent⁶ threats; and her jailer wrote that she had

never been so unquiet since he had had the charge of her. One good consequence at any rate followed. He understood her character at last: she had exhausted the respect which he had long continued to entertain for her.⁷ Mary was driven in upon herself.³ Deprived of all other weapons, she could only have recourse to her powers of sarcasm, where she was unmatched. If she could no longer hoodwink⁸ Elizabeth, she hoped at any rate she might sting her by a bitter and elaborate despatch.

¹ § 3. ² § 4. ³ §§ 9, 21. ⁴ § 13. ⁵ § 24. ⁶ § 7. ⁷ § 21. ⁸ § 16.

23.

The Saxons came over in swarms, and began to increase so much that they became terrible to the very natives who had invited them. Then, on a sudden, they entered into a league with the Picts, whom they had been summoned to subdue, and whom they had hitherto repelled with the force of their arms; and they began to turn their strength against their confederates. At first they obliged them to furnish a greater quantity of provisions; and seeking an occasion to quarrel, protested that unless a more plentiful supply were brought, they would break the confederacy, and ravage all the island, nor were they backward in putting their threats into execution. In short, the fire kindled by the hands of these pagans seemed God's just revenge¹ for the crimes of these wicked people; for the barbarous conquerors, plundering all the neighbouring cities and country, spread the conflagration,² without any opposition, from the eastern to the western sea; and they covered almost every part of the devoted³ island with their destroying hordes. Public as well as private structures were overturned; the priests were slain by the altars: insomuch that at the end there were hardly left enough living to bury the multitude of those that had been slain.

¹ §§ 2, 13.

² § 9.

³ § 7.

24.

Thirty thousand men were left on this decisive field. Cnaeus escaped from the scene of this disaster and gained the coast with a few adherents. He had taken refuge on board

a vessel, and was in the act of putting to sea; when, having accidentally entangled his foot in a rope, an over-zealous attendant, in attempting to extricate him, wounded his ankle with a blow of a hatchet. He was now compelled to land again for the sake of obtaining surgical assistance.¹ His retreat was discovered by his pursuers, and he was forced to quit it and betake himself to the forest. Wearied and desperate, he threw himself at the foot of a tree, where he was speedily overtaken, and after a miserable struggle, was at last overpowered and killed.

¹ § 17.

25.

The ninth legion, one of the most distinguished in the Gallic wars, was thoroughly demoralised. Caesar flew¹ to the spot, and his presence² doubtless restored the greater number to a sense of their duty. He felt that he was supported, and the bolder the front that he assumed,³ the more he was assured would that support be confirmed. He addressed the multitude in one of those stirring harangues with which, like most great commanders, he could sway their affections when he pleased. At first, assuming⁴ the boundless generosity of perfect confidence, he declared that he would release from his oath whosoever wished to retire. But when the disaffected shouted their approbation of this indulgence,⁵ he suddenly changed the language of his address from *Romani*, or soldiers, to *Quirites* or citizens, and, shocked and abashed, the multitude shrank before him. The whole current of their fury was arrested and changed by one magic word. They were now as eager in signifying their repentance as before in testifying their dissatisfaction.

¹ § 6.

² § 2.

³ § 16.

⁴ § 20.

⁵ § 5.

26.

The crafty Numidian employed a stratagem to wile the enemy from his entrenchments. The appearance of a slender detachment in the plains beneath, and the rumour industriously spread that Juba had intrusted the relief of Utica to

his Vizier,¹ and withdrawn from a personal share in the campaign, sufficed to impose on the rash and high-spirited² Roman. But Juba, meanwhile, was lurking at a distance of only six miles, to support the advanced posts, upon which Curio launched himself in full confidence of an easy victory. The Vizier adopted the common feint of retiring before the enemy's impetuous charge, till their ranks were broken and their strength nearly exhausted. When at last he turned and faced them, it was not with the paltry squadrons whose numbers they had despised, but with the whole strength of the Numidian Monarchy—its clouds of native cavalry, its troops of elephants, its auxiliary infantry from Spain and Gaul—for the barbarian chieftain was no less afraid for his own subjects than of an enemy, and would only intrust his person to a guard of European mercenaries. The Romans were speedily overpowered by the multitudes which now surrounded them on every side.

¹ § 25.² § 8.

27.

On the receipt of this message the fugitives descended from their position, and approaching in the attitude¹ of suppliants, demanded grace of their conqueror. Caesar hastened to reassure them by expatiating on the lenity which had marked his conduct² throughout his career; nor did he falsify on this occasion the character which he was so proud to claim. The battle of Pharsalia, it was allowed even by his enemies,³ was honourably distinguished in the annals of civil warfare. From the close of the day no more blood was shed, the fugitives were spared, and those who begged for mercy were not repulsed. It should however perhaps be added, that Caesar's clemency was not prompted solely by policy. Even at the moment which satiated his own thirst for power and glory, he mourned over the destruction of so many brave men. 'They would have it so,' he exclaimed, as he traversed the field strewn with the corpses of the honoured dead. 'They would have it so, for after all my exploits I should have been condemned to death, had I not thrown myself upon the protection of my soldiers.'

¹ § 20.² § 17.³ §§ 12, 15.

28.

The Commissioner was sent out to the Ionian Islands, and arrived there in the close of the summer. He called together the Senate, and endeavoured to satisfy them as to the real nature of his mission. He explained that he had not come there to discuss the propriety of maintaining the English Protectorate,¹ but only to inquire into the best way of securing the just claims of the islands² by means of that Protectorate. The visit of the Commissioner was not, however, a very favourable enterprise for those who were anxious that the Protectorate should be continued, and that the islanders should be brought to acquiesce in it as inevitable. The population persisted in regarding him as a lover of the Greeks, and wherever he went he was received with the honours due to a liberator. In vain he repeated his assurances that he was come, not to deliver them from the Protectorate, but to reconcile them to it. The National Assembly passed a formal resolution declaring for union with Greece. Public speakers at home wondered and raged over the impertinence of the Greek population, who preferred union with Greece to dependence on England. But sensible men saw that if the case was so, the dependence could not long be maintained.

¹ § 25.² §§ 1, 3.

29.

These political philosophers institute a comparison. They¹ find the Briton better off than the Pole, and they immediately come to the conclusion that the Briton is so well off because his bread is dear, and the Pole is so ill off because his bread is cheap. Why, is there a single good which in this way I could not prove to be an evil, or a single evil which I could not prove to be a good? Take lameness.¹ I will prove that it is the best thing in the world to be lame, for I can show you men who are lame and yet are much happier than men who have the use of their legs.² I will prove health to be a calamity, for I can easily find you people in excellent health whose fortunes have been wrecked,³ whose characters have been blasted,³ and who are much more wretched than

many invalids. But is that the way in which any man of common sense reasons? No; the question is: Would not the lame man be happier if you restored him the use of his limbs? would not the healthy man be more wretched if he had gout and rheumatism in addition to all his other ills? would not the Englishman be better off if food were as cheap here as in Poland? would not the Pole be more miserable if food were as dear in Poland as here?

¹ § 21.² § 5.³ §§ 6, 16.

30.

Sir, your throne cannot stand secure upon the principles of unconditional submission and passive obedience,¹ on powers exercised without the concurrence of the people to be governed, on acts made in defiance of their prejudices and habits, on acquiescence produced by foreign mercenaries, and secured by standing armies.² These may possibly be the foundation¹ of other thrones; they must be the subversion of ours. It was not to passive principles in our ancestors that we owe the honour of appearing before a sovereign who cannot feel that he is a prince without knowing that we ought to be free.³ The revolution is a departure¹ from the ancient course of the descent of this monarchy; the people at that time re-entered into their rights; and it was not because a positive law authorised what was then done, but because the freedom and safety of the subject⁴—the origin and cause of all laws—required a proceeding paramount and superior to them. At that ever-memorable and instructive period the letter of the law⁵ was superseded in favour of the substance of liberty.

¹ §§ 1, 2.² § 12.³ §§ 5, 17.⁴ §§ 1, 2, 3 all through.⁵ § 16.

31.

Do you mean to say that a bad institution ought to be maintained¹ because some people who have been many years in their graves² said that they did not complain of it? What if the men of this generation hold a different language² on this subject from the men of the last generation? Is this incon-

¹ § 33.² §§ 6, 16.

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sistency, which seems to shock the noble Lord, anything but the natural and inevitable progress of all reform³? People who are oppressed, but who have no hope of obtaining entire justice, beg to be relieved from the most galling part of what they suffer. They assure the oppressor that if he will only relax a little of his severity they will be quite content; and perhaps at the time they believe they will be content. But are expressions of this sort, are mere supplications uttered under distress, to stop every person who utters them and all his posterity to the end of time from asking for entire justice? Am I debarred from trying to recover property of which I have been robbed, because, when the robber's pistol⁴ was at my breast, I begged him to take everything that I have and spare my life?

³ §§ 1, 2, 3.⁴ §§ 6, 16.

32.

In conclusion, I wish to invite, as I have done on previous occasions, I wish to invite alternative¹ suggestions. I have asked for them before, and I ask for them again. I say to my opponents: If you do not like my remedies—if, on the one hand, you think them inadequate; if, on the other hand, you think them extravagant, let us know how you will deal with the problem now before you. How do you propose to help the poor? How do you propose to deal with the competition² which now reduces wages to the barest pittance³? How do you propose to stop the flow³ of emigration which goes on from the country into the towns? How do you propose to increase the protection of the soil? If you have a better way, we shall joyfully hear of it; but, for my part, neither sneers nor abuse, nor opposition shall induce me to accept as the will of the Almighty, and the unalterable dispensation of His providence,⁴ a state of things under which millions lead sordid, hopeless, and monotonous lives, without pleasure in the present, and without hope for the future. The issue is for you; and, for my part, I believe that what the wise and learned have failed to accomplish, the poor and lowly will achieve for themselves.

¹ § 3.² § 1.³ § 16.⁴ § 2.

33.

No circumstances of fortune, you may be sure, will ever induce us to form or tolerate any such design. If the disposition of Providence, which we deprecate, should even prostrate you at our feet, broken in power and spirit, it would be our duty and inclination to revive, by every practical means, that free energy of mind which a fortune unsuitable to your virtue had damped and destroyed, and to put you voluntarily in possession of those very privileges which you had in vain attempted to assert by arms; for we solemnly declare that although we should look on a separation from you as a heavy calamity, and the heavier because we know you must have your full share in it, yet we had much rather see you totally independent of this crown and kingdom than joined to it by so unnatural a conjunction as that of freedom with servitude, —a conjunction which, if it were at all practicable, could not fail in the end to be more mischievous to the peace, prosperity, greatness, and power of this nation, than beneficial by an enlargement of the bounds of nominal empire. But because, brethren, these professions are general, and such as even enemies may make when they reserve to themselves the construction of what servitude and what liberty are, we inform you that we adopt your own standard of the blessing of free government.

See §§ 1-6 all through the piece.

34.

Is it not, then, absurd to say that because I wished last year to quiet the English people by giving them that which was beneficial to them, therefore I am bound in consistency¹ to quiet the Irish people this year by giving them that which will be fatal to them? I utterly deny that, in consenting to arm the Government² with extraordinary powers for the purpose of repressing disturbances in Ireland, I am guilty of the smallest inconsistency. On what occasion did I ever refuse to support any Government in suppressing disturbances? It is perfectly true that in the debates on the Reform Bill³ I imputed the tumults and outrages of that year to misrule;

¹ § 1.

² § 6.

³ § 3.

but did I ever say that those tumults and outrages ought to be tolerated? I did attribute the riots, the burning of corn-stacks, the destruction of property, to the obstinacy with which the Ministers of the Crown had refused to listen to the demands of the people; but did I ever say that the rioters ought not to be imprisoned, or that the incendiaries ought not to be hanged? I did ascribe the disorders in the various towns to the unwise rejection of the Bill by the Lords⁴; but did I ever say that such excesses as were committed in those towns ought not to be put down, if necessary, by the sword⁵?

⁴ § 25.

⁵ § 6.

35.

This was the advice which a wise and honest Minister would have given to Charles. These were the principles on which that unhappy prince should have acted. But no.¹ He would govern, I do not say ill, I do not say tyrannically; I say only this: he would govern the men of his time as if they had been the men of a hundred years before; and therefore it was that all his talents and all his virtues did not save him from unpopularity, from civil war, from a prison, from a bar, from a scaffold.² These things are written for our instruction. Our lot has been cast in a time analogous in many respects to the time which immediately preceded the meeting of the Long Parliament.³ There is a change in society. There must be a corresponding change in the Government. We are not, we cannot, in the nature of things, be what our fathers were. We are no more like the men of the time of the American War than the men who cried 'Privilege' round the carriage of Charles were like the men who changed their religion once a year at the bidding of Henry the Eighth.⁴

¹ § 18.

² §§ 3, 6, 16.

³ § 25.

⁴ §§ 3, 16.

36.

Yes, you say, but all that display of force was got together on behalf of the proposal of Caecilius. And there the orator went off into a bitter attack on Caecilius, one of the most

distinguished and least arrogant of men. For my part, Judges, I will confine myself to one remark about his character and principle : that he acted in such a way in the matter of this proposal that it was his intention to do the best he could ¹ for his brother, without in any way being brought into conflict with the State. His object was to mitigate the punishment of his brother, not in any way to reopen a question already decided by the courts. There is nothing so important to the stability of the State as that the matters already ² decided by the courts should not be further debated. I do not think that such allowance should be made for a brother's affection ³ that he should be permitted, in consulting the interests of his family, to forget those of the public. But this man was doing nothing of this kind. His proposal had nothing to do with the courts ; he was simply trying to mitigate the penalty which had been settled by the laws of a previous year. When a man complains of a penalty, he is not attacking the decisions of a law-court ; he is legitimately trying to improve the law.

¹ § 17.² § 28.³ § 5.

37.

These doctrines were eagerly adopted by Marcus Cato, a man of unusual gifts, and familiar with the most learned authorities. He adopted them, not as most men do, for the purposes of discussion, but in order to live by them. In all emergencies or difficulties his conduct is determined by some Stoic maxim. The Equites demand some favour from him : 'Do not act to gratify individuals.' Suppliants arrive, miserable afflicted men : 'You are a wicked man if you allow yourself to be influenced by pity.' A friend confesses a fault against you, and humbly demands forgiveness : 'It is an infamous crime to pardon any one.' He may urge that his offence was a trivial one : 'All sins are equal.' You deliver an opinion : 'A wise man's opinion is fixed and established.' But you have been led, not by the facts, but by supposition : 'The wise man never supposes.' My own philosophical teachers—for I will confess that in my youth, when I was diffident of my own opinion, I sought the aid of thinkers—

my own teachers were men of a more moderate and humane temper; and if you, Cato, with your endowments, had by some chance had recourse when you were young to these teachers, instead of those you actually consulted and adopted, you might have become, I do not say a wiser man, I do not say a juster nor a stronger man—that is impossible; but, perhaps, a gentler.

The dramatic brevity and vividness must be retained.

38.

Suppose I had been speaking, not before our own citizens, not before our allies, not even before men—but before beasts; nay, let me go a step further, and say, not before beasts, but in a desert and barren place, before the very rocks and stones; if I had there uttered aloud this miserable story, I tell you the very mute and inanimate things would have stirred and melted¹ with the recital of such horrors.² But now that I am speaking before the highest judicial authority³ of my country, I ought not to fear that you will fail to take the same view of the case as I do myself: that the scoundrel in the dock is the one man who deserves all these unheard-of punishments, as sure as they were undeserved by the wretches whom he forced to undergo them. A little while ago, Judges, when we were listening to the story of how he devised that cruel and lingering death for those innocent and miserable seamen, we could none of us restrain our tears; and we were right to weep at the undeserved fate of our fellow-creatures and fellow-soldiers; but what will now be our feelings when we hear that a man of our own city and of our own blood has suffered this scandalous outrage² at the hands of this common enemy of mankind without the shadow of a palliation⁴?

¹ § 6.

² § 26.

³ § 17.

⁴ § 9.

39.

I saw that the Senate, without which the State cannot be safe, was practically removed from the State altogether; that the consuls, whose duty it was to be the leaders of the public deliberations, had taken steps to prevent any public delibera-

tions from being possible¹; that those who had the greatest power resisted all proposals for my benefit, and were always delivering harangues without truth, but not without effect,² in order to ruin me; that there was no one to utter a word for me and for the State; that an idea prevailed²—unfounded, indeed, but still it prevailed—that the army was on the point of being brought to bear against³ your lives and property. When I saw all this, what was I to do, Judges? Ought a private man like myself to have fought with arms against a tribune of the people? Suppose for a moment that that right had prevailed: that a man unaccustomed to fighting had overcome a trained soldier; still the result would have been that the only man who could have saved the State from its worst foe would have been put to death. After a successful engagement with the tribune, I should have had to enter on a new contest with his friends and avengers.

¹ § 17.² § 1.³ § 5.

40.

I must needs own that it was by the assistance of this secret, that I, though otherwise unapt, have adventured upon so daring an attempt, never achieved or undertaken before, but by a certain author called Homer, in whom, though otherwise a person not without abilities, and (for an ancient) of a tolerable genius, I have discovered many gross errors, which are not to be forgiven his very ashes,¹ if by chance any of them are left. For whereas we are assured he designed his work for a complete body of all knowledge, human, divine, political, and mechanic, it is manifest he has wholly neglected some, and been very imperfect in the rest. For, first of all, for so eminent a cabalist,² as his disciples would fain represent him to be, his account of the *opus magnum*² is very poor and deficient; he seems to have read very superficially either Sendivocus or Behmen.² But I have still behind a fault far more notorious to tax the author with: I mean his gross ignorance in the common laws of this realm, and in the doctrine as well as the discipline of the Church of England.²

¹ § 16.² § 23.

41.

At first, perhaps, there were some men who, from weakness or from accident, felt the dependence¹ on their parents, or received the benefit from them longer than others, and in such was formed a more deep and strong tie of attachment.² And while their neighbours, so soon as they were of adult vigour, heedlessly left the side of their parents, and troubled themselves no more about them, and let them perish,³ if so it might happen, these few remained with their parents, and grew used to them more and more, and finally even fed and tended them when they grew helpless. Presently they began to be shocked at their neighbours' callous neglect⁴ of those who had begotten and borne them, and they expostulated with their neighbours, and entreated and pleaded that their own way was the best. Some suffered,¹ perhaps, for their interference; some had to fight for their parents, to prevent their neighbours maltreating them; and all the more fixed in their new filial feelings did these primitive gopers after morality⁵ become.

¹ § 3.² § 1.³ § 21.⁴ § 15.⁵ § 6.

42.

There is another circumstance in which my countrymen have dealt very perversely with me, and that is, in searching not only into my life, but also into the lives of my ancestors. If there has been a blot¹ in my family for these ten generations, it hath been discovered by some or other of my correspondents. In short, I find that the ancient family to which I belong² has suffered very much through the malice and prejudice of my enemies. Some of them twit me in the teeth³ with the conduct of my aunt; nay, there are some who have been so disingenuous as to throw into my dish¹ the marriage of one of my forefathers with a milkmaid,⁴ although I myself was the first who discovered that alliance. I reap, however, many benefits from the malice of these enemies, as they let me see my own faults, and give me a view of myself in the worst light, as they hinder me from being blown up by flattery and self-conceit, as they make me keep a watchful eye over my own actions; and, at the same time, make me

cautious how I talk of others, and particularly of my friends and relations, or value myself upon the antiquity of my family.

¹ § 9.² § 13.³ § 16.⁴ § 25.

43.

But, to carry this affair more home¹: What is it that gives² a man authority to commend, or makes it a favour to me that he does commend me? It is certain that there is no praise valuable but from the praiseworthy. Were the good and evil of fame laid upon a level³ among mankind, the judge on the bench and the criminal at the bar would differ only in their stations; and if one's word is to pass⁴ as much as the other's, their reputation would be much alike to the jury. Pliny, speaking of the death of Martial, expresses himself with great gratitude to him for the honours done to him in the writings of that author; but he begins it with an account of his character, which alone made the applause valuable. There is something so peculiar in true glory, that the selfsame action done by different men cannot merit the same degree of applause. The Roman who was surprised in the enemy's camp before he had accomplished his design, and thrust his bare arm into a funeral pile, telling the general that there were many who had conspired his death regardless of danger,⁵ wrought in the very enemy an admiration of his fortitude. But the slave who represented him in the theatre, and consumed his arm in the same manner, did not raise in the spectators a great idea of his virtue.

¹ § 6.² § 13.³ § 16.⁴ § 3.⁵ § 18.

44.

One common calamity makes men¹ extremely affect each other, though they differ in every particular otherwise. The passion of love is the most general concern among men, and I am glad to hear, by the latest advices² from Athens, that there are among that polite people certain persons who have erected themselves into a society in honour of the tender passion.³ These gentlemen are not so lost to common sense

¹ §§ 2, 12.² §§ 5, 17.³ § 8.

that they cannot understand the folly they are guilty of, and for that reason they separate themselves from all other company, that they may enjoy the pleasure of talking incoherently without being ridiculous to any but each other. When a man comes into the company he is not obliged to make any other introduction to his discourse, but at once seating himself in a chair, as he is, he speaks in the thread ⁴ of his own discourse: 'She gave me a very obliging glance; she never looked so well as this evening,' or the like reflection, without regard to any other member of the society, for in this assembly they do not meet to talk to each other; but every man claims the full liberty of talking as he will to himself.

⁴ § 16.

45.

At length when these two counsellors, Avarice and Luxury, had wearied themselves with waging war upon each other, they agreed upon an interview, at which none of their counsellors were to be present. It is said that Luxury began the parley, and, after having represented the endless state of war in which they were engaged, told his enemy, with a frankness of heart which is natural to him,¹ that he believed they two should be very good friends were it not for the instigations of Poverty, for that pernicious ² counsellor made an ill use of his ear, and filled him with groundless apprehensions and prejudices. To this Avarice replied that he looked upon Plenty, the counsellor of his antagonist, as much more pernicious than his own minister, Poverty, for that he was perpetually suggesting pleasures, banishing all the necessary cautions ³ against want, and undermining those principles on which the government of Avarice was founded. At last, in order to an accommodation,⁴ they agreed on this preliminary,⁴ that each should dismiss his counsel. After this was done, all other differences were soon accommodated,⁵ and for the future they resolved to live as good friends and confederates, and share between them whatever conquests were made on either side. For this reason we now find Luxury and Avarice taking possession of the same heart, and dividing the same person between them.

¹ § 20.

² § 7.

³ §§ 1, 17

⁴ § 5.

⁵ § 2.

46.

I remember hearing once from a traveller of a very simple and strange tribe of men who lived in a remote country somewhere in Armenia. They were all poor and hardworking, except a few of them, who were fed at the public expense, and lived in a temple, and were looked up to as prophets. Of these prophets there were several different classes. The lowest class were very miserable and ill-fed, and their clothes were half worn out; these foresaw what was going to happen fifty years a-head, and to these the people paid very little heed, and only gave them the worst of everything. The next class were more happy, and fed on better fare, and were allowed richer clothing; for they only foresaw what was likely to occur a year hence. These the people respected more than the first; but, still, they had only a very moderate estimate of them. But the highest class of all were a very few fat and ordinary men, who were kept in every luxury, and before whom every one bowed down with all imaginable worship; for they foresaw what was going to befall on the very next day. The fact was that these simple savages cared very little for knowing what was destined to happen a long time hence, and were only moderately interested in knowing the future events of the coming year; but everybody, high and low alike, were eager to know the immediate future, and gave every honour to those whom they thought able to foretell it.

See sections 17 and 20.

47.

I was not gone far before I heard the sound of trumpets and alarms, which seemed to proclaim the march of an enemy, and, as I afterwards found, was in reality what I apprehended it. There appeared at a great distance a very shining light, and in the midst of it a person of a most beautiful aspect; her name was Truth. On her right hand there marched a male deity, who bore several quivers on his shoulders, and grasped several arrows in his hand; his name was Wit. The approach of these two enemies filled all

the territory of False Wit with unspeakable consternation, in-
somuch that the goddess of those regions appeared in person
on her frontiers, with the several inferior deities and the
different bodies of forces which I had before seen in the
temple, who were now drawn up in array, and prepared to
give their foes a warm reception. As the march of the
enemy was very slow, it gave time to the inhabitants who
bordered upon the regions of Falsehood to draw their forces
into a body and attend the issue of the combat.

48.

When the iniquity of the times brought¹ Socrates to his
execution, how great and wonderful it is to behold him re-
ceive the poison with an air of warmth and good-humour,
and, as if going on some agreeable journey, bespeak some
deity to make it fortunate! When Phokion's good actions
had met with the like reward from his country, and he was
led to death, with many others of his friends, they bewailing
their fate, he walking composedly to the place of execution,
how gracefully does he support his illustrious character to the
very last instant! One of the rabble spitting at him as he
passed, with his usual authority he called to know if no one
was ready to teach this fellow how to behave himself. When
a poor-spirited creature that died at the same time for his
offences bemoaned himself unmanfully, he rebuked him with
this question, 'Is it no consolation to such a man as thou art
to die with Phokion?' At the instant when he was to die
they asked him what were his commands to his son, and he
answered, 'To forget this injury of the Athenians.'

¹ § 14.

49.

Those entertainments and pleasures we most value in life
are such as dupe and play the wag¹ with the senses. For if
we make an examination of what is generally understood by
happiness, as it has respect either to the understanding or to
the senses, we shall find all its properties and adjuncts will
herd under this short definition,² that it is a perpetual posses-

sion of being well deceived. It is manifest what advantages fiction has over truth, and the reason is just at our elbow,¹ because imagination can build nobler scenes than fortune or nature will be at expense to furnish.³ We should consider that the debate lies merely between things past and things conceived, and so the question is only this: Whether things that have place in the imagination may not as properly be said to exist, as those that are seated in the memory? which may be justly held in the affirmative, and very much to the advantage of the former,⁴ since this is acknowledged to be the womb of things,⁵ and the other allowed to be no more than the grave. If this were seriously considered by the world, which I have a certain reason to suspect it hardly will, men would no longer reckon among their high points of wisdom the art of exposing weak ideas, and publishing infirmities,—an employment, in my opinion, neither better nor worse than that of unmasking.⁶

¹ § 16.² §§ 9, 17.³ §§ 1, 2.⁴ § 5.⁵ § 11.⁶ §§ 3, 18.

50.

As Mencius the philosopher was travelling in pursuit of wisdom, night overtook him at the foot of a lofty mountain, remote from the habitations of men. Here he perceived a hermit's¹ cell, and approaching, asked for shelter. 'Enter,' cried the hermit; 'men deserve not to be obliged, but it would be imitating their ingratitude to treat them as they deserve. Enter; examples of vice may sometimes strengthen us in the ways of virtue.'²

'You have been ill-used by mankind?' said Mencius.

'Yes,' said the hermit; 'I have exhausted³ my whole fortune on them, and this staff and these roots are all that I have in return for it.'

'Did you give or lend the money?' said Mencius.

'I gave it undoubtedly,' said the hermit, 'for where were the merit of being a money-lender and receiving profit?'

'Did they ever own that they received it?' asked the philosopher.⁴

¹ § 25.² §§ 12, 14.³ § 3.⁴ § 8.

'A thousand times,' replied he; 'they loaded^b me with expressions of gratitude, and solicitations for future favours.'

'Then,' said Mencius, smiling, 'it is unjust to accuse them of ingratitude. You looked for nothing but thanks, and this they gave you, as you yourself declare, repeatedly.'

'Plainly you are a philosopher,' said the hermit, and proceeded to prepare a humble repast.

^b § 6.



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